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EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON
ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR
NEWSPAPERS

375—671

1917

Extract from the

Report on the English and Vernacular News papers for the year 1917

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(24th March to 5th May 1917)

100. The Prapanchamitran, of the 23rd February, refers under this heading to the order issued

Enter not.

by the Punjab Government prohibiting Messrs. Bepin Chandra Pal and Bal Gangadar Tilak from entering that province, and adds: It seems these two never intended to go to the Punjab and were never invited to go there. Therefore the reason for the order issued by the Punjab Government remains a great secret. We have to presume that the Government do these things out of an alarm, relying on the reports of their secret police. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal has sent a litter to the Press saying that he never even dreamt of going to the Punjab and that, as the head of that Province has spoken disparagingly of the Bengalees, he would never enter that Province even if invited as long as the present Lieutenant-Governor continued there. A resolution was recently passed by the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League that efforts should be made to spread knowledge among the public about swaraj. How can this resolution be given effect to, if the Government begin to exercise power under a law passed in connection with the war and prevent popular leaders from entering this or that province? So the Indians should hodl public meeting in different places and acquaint our Viceroy with Indian public opinion on this matter. If the leaders of a community are separated from the community, how can the community live? We would offer an humble suggestion to the authorities who doubt Indians like this,

to find out whether Indians really love England or not. As soon as the war is over, let the army and navy of all the allied countries be turned towards India, stationed and kept in readiness on its different sides, and let all the unnecessary laws now in force like the Army Act, the Defence of India Act, and the Press Act be abolished and the Government conducted in India. If the Indians are then found to be wanting in loyalty (not the loyalty of Sir Benjamin Robertson), India can be burnt to ashes. Will the authorities confide in the Indians then at least? Let us see.

Loyalty.

101. Referring to a statement to have been made by Sir Benjamin Robertson that he appreciated true loyalty, which was different from the loyalty exhibited by a few now striving for the advancement of India, the Prapanchamitran of the 23rd February, remarks:- We did not know till now that the term loyalty had two or three meanings. We were and are still under the impression that evincing unalterable love to our Emperor and getting our griegances redressed by a representation to him are the real signs of loyalty. But what we have to conclude from the statement of Sir Benjamin Robertson is that we should be loyal not only to the king, but also to this representative, the Viceroy, his representative Sir Benjamin Robertson, and his representative again down to the ordinary Policeman. Legal experts will deem only devotion to a King-Emperor, who succeeds to an unbroken line of Kings, to be loyalty and not being afraid of all his servants to the lowest strata and all officials, whatever may be their

nature, who work for wages and who are servants responsible for the public good. When Lord Minto was our Viceroy, he inculcated a new swadesism as the true one, differentiating it from the ordinary swadesism followed by the people. Sir Benjamin Robertson has now created a type of true loyalty. We would suggest to them that, instead of acquainting us with their truths they would do well to be true to the spirit of liberty, justice and straightforwardness, which are said to be born with every Englishman. Is it not strange that this Benjamin Robertson should preach about true loyalty to us who own the Smrities laying down that the King is an incarnation of Maha Vishnu?

103. The following appears in the Swadesamitran, of the 26th February:-

Alleged economic progress in India.

Our friends could not have forgotten the observations specifically made by the Commander-in-Chief in his speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on the Indian Defence Force Bill, to the effect that India has not borne the burden of the war to the extent to which the other parts of the Empire have done, and that, besides, India has, in fact, made great progress in wealth during the past two years. It should be known which part of the Empire has contributed greater help than India in body, wealth and life. Again, though a few capitalists have made profits in certain industries in consequence of the war, is there room for its being stated that on the whole India has greatly advanced in wealth? It is known to all

that in addition to prices of things having gone very high, many articles have become very scarce. On account of the rise of prices and the scarcity of things, the bulk of the people have been subject to greater trouble and loss than before. It will be appropriate to quote the Bombay Chronicle here, which asks whether it can be said that the country has now greatly advanced in wealth, when the Government paper which sold at Rs.95/- at the beginning of the war, now sells at Rs.65/- We think that the Commander-in-Chief would not have spoken in that way, if he had sufficiently well understood the help rendered by India and the progress made by it in wealth.

Mr. Dadabhoy's resolution.

105. Referring to the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 21st February, for the constitution of the special machinery to consider cases of persons whose movements or actions it is proposed to control under the Defence of India Rules, the Hindu Nesan, of the 23rd February, makes the following observations:- Though it cannot be denied that the Government make use of this Act only in the interests of the country, they intern persons on slight suspicion, which cannot be substantiated, instead of interning those who really plot or are likely to plot against the welfare of the country. In this, the Government rely on advice of the Police and permit them to arrest the persons

against whom they entertain suspicion, without any investigation as to whether these persons really deserve to be so suspected, what their previous history is and whether their ways and habits are such as to give room for suspicion. The procedure adopted is to intern the suspects first and then look to other things. The Indian public think that it is not a procedure worthy of being adopted by a Government so civilized as that of India. The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy moved a/ his resolution, therefore, considering that, though the majority of the persons brought under the operation of the Defence of India Rules might be taken to be men of evil actions, and evil intentions, some of them at least might possibly be free from both and that it would be an injustice to subject them to the operation of these rules.

India and the war.

107. Referring to the cry raised by the London Times that India does not take any interest in this war, and that she has not at all helped England, the Vijayavikatan, of the 26th February, remarks:- What are we to say of the stupidity of the London Times? India has till now helped with about 10 lakhs of men and between 10 and 20 million pounds of money. She has also advanced an immense amount as loan. She is maintaining numerous hospital ships. We think that the Indians will be pained to hear the London Times blabbing like this.

A gift of 150 crores of rupees.

109. In its leader, under this heading, the Kistnapatrika, of the 10th March, writes:-

The Government of India has resolved to raise a loan of 150 crores of rupees and make a gift of it to the British Empire. The Secretary of State has accorded his assent to this. The Imperial Legislative Council had thereafter to give their consent to the measure, but in name. As this matter had been settled before it was introduced into the Council, it cannot but be said that the consent of the Legislative Council was but a sham. Even in the Legislative Council, Government members are a majority. They have to nod their consent for every Government measure. What can the representatives of the people do? They are not devoid of loyalty to the empire. British Empire is now involved in a terrible war, on the issue of which depends her well-being and safety.

India must, at present, give any amount of help to the British Empire. This is certainly admitted by all. But it is improper on her part to make a gift beyound her means, and become plunged in debts. Government have now resolved to give away 150 crores of rupees to the British. Have the Government of India this amount in its hands? No. It has to raise it by a loan. One may question whether so large an amount will be forthcoming at once. Whatever can be raised will be raised. As for the rest, a part of the debt of the British we have to take upon ourselves and be paying the interest accruing thereon. The interest on 150 crores of rupees comes to 9 crores a year. The period of redemption is 30 years. The interest

during this period will amount to 270 crores of rupees which, with the principal of 150 crores comes up to a total amount of 420 crores. How can this poor country bear so much burden? There are no funds for new schools and colleges; none for industrial education; none for the construction of tanks and reservoirs, none for sanitary improvements; and none for many a purpose, which is very urgent, useful and conducive to progress; but for helping the British Empire, rupees must be borrowed and paid down. Many taxes have been imposed to covers the 9 crores of interest. By undertaking this burden, Government cannot, for a long time to come, even think of any expensive measures conducive to the benefit for the country. What can the representatives of the people say in the Council? Can they say that helping the British Empire is no duty? No. They have, of course, admitted that it is a duty. Can they say that so much money ought not to be given? What is the use of saying so? The Government of India and the Secretary of State had already settled the matter even before it was taken up for discussion in the Council, Any more discussion would be a waste of breath. Our representatives, while according their assent, proposed some amendments.. . . . . .This too, was thrown out. The debt is a settled fact, as also the taxes and we are only glad of it. India cannot but cheerfully put up with any hardship for the sake of the empire. But we trust that now at least will the opinion be changed that India is dependent on England. May the truth gain ground that England is also dependent on India! May the British Lords and the colonials recognise this truth. If such a confidence had prevailed from the beginning, India would have been in a condition to render greater help to England. England is solely responsibe for this.

115. The Andhrapatrika, of the 8th March, has the following in English and in Telugu:- "The Amrita Bazaar Patrika, says:- The attitude of the Viceroy we regret to say, will cause deep pain and disappointment, may resentment throughout the length and bredth of the country. We are simply aghast at the idea of that His Excellency should create such an unpleasant feeling at a time when the whole-hearted co-operation of the people with the Government has become an absolute necessity and the ruled and the rulers should live on the best of terms. There is no doubt it will have a chilling effect on the ardent loyalty which is now animating all classes of the Indian community.

Press Deputation.

Referring to the reply of the Viceroy to the address of the Press Deputation, the Manorama, of the 9th March, points out that it has produced great disappointment, and sympathises with the deputation in its failure to attain its object.

The Viceroy and Press deputation.

120. <u>The Madanapalle Divisional Conference</u>.

It is to be regretted that the Defence of India Act which is a measure enacted for defending the country should be enforced against the peaceloving people of the country. It is improper to prohibit persons like Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak and Mr. Pal from entering certain territories. . . . .

The Press Act is a halter round the neck of journalists. The hope was till now entertained that it would soon be repealed. That hope has now been completely quenched. It is to be inferred from the reply of His Excellency the Viceroy to the Press Deputation that the Act has found a permanent place in the Indian Statute Book. It must therefore be said that the freedom of the press in India has now set. We cannot say when it will rise. But we should not be discouraged.

126. A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 12th March, reports Mr. Surendranath Banerji

Swaraj.

to have said at a big meeting held at Calcutta to discuss the question of swaraj that such a big meeting had never assembled after the Bengal partition days, and to have explained the reasons why India desires to have swaraj.

133. The Quami Report, of the 5th March, writes:- India is not our ancestral home.

"We and India"

Our geographical condition is becoming so confused that even European scholars are in error in locating us. Nay, rather are we ourselves in error. We can scarcely decide with reference to ourselves as to whether India is our native land, or whether the assertion that Mussalmans are citizens of no particular country in the world, is true.

Hemistich: "Musslims are fellow countrymen, the whole world is ours."

The enthusiasm born of Home Ryle or self-governmemt desire has made some people believe that we are sons of the sacred soil of India and consequently we are pure Indians. But it should be observed what is our historical status according to the philosophy of geography. These are examples capable of throwing some light on our condition. For instance, when the Romans conquered France, they became merged in the population and today the French are, as regards location and language, the successors of the Romans. In the matter of descent, however, they are not their successors.

The above example hears some resemblance to the condition of the Mussalmans of India. Although, owing to the Islamic propaganda we are merged in the Indian peoples, but in both of us the essentials of nationality are lacking.

Our mode of living is entirely different from that of the Hindus, and centuries of mutual concord has produced no effect on either side. There are still some converts among us who bear some resemblance to the Hindus, but this fact is not enough to unite nationality. It is an erroneous idea that we, Indian Mussalmans, are the offspring of the Hindus. If this had been the case class distinction could not have been kept alive among Saiyids, Shaikhs, Begs and Khans. It is obvious that these four clans do not belong to India. Their very

names show that Indian soil has nothing to do with their origin and their make-up. It is true there are traces of maternal influence to be found in them, but this has not succeeded in establishing the Hindu mode of living. On the contrary, the mothers adopted Islamic style of living and thus the children of special clans followed their own customs.

This is, of course, not the case with those born of Indian parents.

There is another geographical argument in support of our assertion. The history of Egyptian nationality says that when the Arabs conquered the Egyptian people the latter adopted, whole heartedly and with alacrity, the religion of the conquerors with the result that Egypt became the first Islamic country of importance. Arabs and Copts intermarried and mixed so freely that in the third generation it was difficult to distinguish one from the other. But in course of time the members of the Egyptians so far exceeded that of their conquerors and the influx of the Arabs was so much reduced that Arab strain almost entirely disappeared. At present the Fallatin (farmers) of Egypt, although Arabs in religion and language, are, as a matter of fact, the successors and descendants of the ancient nation that built the pyramids of Egypt.

The case of the pure clans, mixed clans and pure Indian Musslmans in India is the same. We live in India but our civilization is not theirs. To a certain degree language is different and the difference in religion is very obvious.

When geographical conditions have kept us so far apart, how can it be claimed that we are pure Indians, that our communities are one and the same? And that whatever disunion there may be it belongs to the realm of religion, which is not worthy of consideration?

The great Emperor Akbar and Jehangir tried their utmost to encourage inter-marriages and social intercourse with the object of uniting the Hindu and Mussalman communities, but the Hindus themselves disapproved the idea. Today, just for the sake of Home Rule, they are endeavouring to show that Mussalmans are their fellow countrymen.

III. Legislation.

135. The following press comments on the subject appear in the telegraphic columns of the Swadesamitran, of the 23rd February:- The Bombay Chronicle--

The Indian Defence Force Bill.

There is no reason to believe that the Indians will not hereafter be raised to the ranks of officers, or that they will be treated differently from Europeans in the matter of pay, etc. If such a difference should be made, the Indians will resent it, and the object of enlisting volunteers will be hindered.

The Tribune:--The Bill really falls short of the expectations of the Indians. It is not satisfactory that certain differences should be made between them and Europeans who enlist in the army. There is nothing in the Bill, or in the speeches of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, over which Indians could grow very enthusiastic.

The Punjabi:- The concluding portion in the speech of the Commander-in-Chief is not satisfactory. He said:- "If the educated Indians prove their fitness for the places they wish to have, the question of satisfying their wishes will be considered when the opportunity occurs." The fitness of the Indians has already been proved. If further proofs are needed, the present conditions must change.

The Indian Defence Force Bill.

Referring to the introduction of this Bill by the Commander-in-Chief in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 21st February, the Hindu Nesan, of the 22nd February, writes in its leader as follows:-
The Indians were until now kept down without a chance of joining the army. ~~Eichte~~ Either from a consideration that it was not right, in view of the needs of the war, to keep them down in that way, or under the belief that it was impossible to so keep them aloof, Lord Chelmsford assured, in a previous meeting of his Council, that the necessary arrangements would be made for the Indians being taken into the army; and in yesterday's meeting of that Council, the Commander-in-Chief succeeded in introducing the Indian Defence Force Bill which he had had under contemplation. The day on which this Bill passes into law will be considered as the day of redemption from the curse under which the Indians found themselves unable to render service in the army.

The Desamata, of the 7th March, says:- The amendments made to the Indian Defence Force Bill are unsatisfactory- - - - - - - - - New privileges which the Muhammadans and the Hindus do not possess have been secured for the Eurasians who are neither Europeans nor Hindus, for those who have become converts to Christianity, and for some Parsis. It is discouraging to the people that the Government who proclaimed that the Indians would be enlisted without distinction of race or creed, should make such distinctions. Our request that our youth between the ages of 16 and 19 may be given the military training that is given to European boys has been made in vain. . . . . .Though the Government have not been liberal in this matter, and have not shown confidence in the people, leaders like Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant are encouraging the youth to join the force and bear the burden of defending the country. Although our Viceroy and the Secretary of State have spoken sympathetically on the question of giving commissioned ranks to competent Indians, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has spoken discouragingly in the matter, which is very much to be regretted. Yet it is our duty to take this opportunity, join the new defence force, and try to secure greater privileges in the future.

Indian Defence Force Bill.

136. The Andhrapatrika, of the 8th March, says:- The representatives of the Press Association, who

The Press Act.

presented His Excellency the Viceroy with a memorial, said that the reply of His Excellency was quite unsatisfactory and did not indicate a liberal attitude. They said that all the papers brought to book under the provisions of the Press Act were not guilty. Even supposing that those papers were guilty, nowhere was a law enacted to curb the freedom of the press on account of the fault of one or two papers. The representatives said that the answer of His Excellency was tinged with partiality.

137. Anent the Indian Defence Force Act, the Manorama, of the 9th March, points out that,

The Indian Defence Act.

though the conferring of special privileges on Europeans and Eurasians may be a sou ce of dissatisfaction to the Indians, it is incumbent on respectable Indians of high birth to join the Army for the defence of their country and for the keeping up of His Majesty's honour and prestige, refers with joy to the effots made by the leaders of the country to procure recruits thereto and exhorts the Malayalee youths, the offsprings of a military people, to maintain their traditions by freely joining the Army.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 24TH MARCH 1917.

No. 12 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration

(k) General.

The prohibition of emigration.

15. The West coast Reformer, of the 16th March, writes:- "Suddenly and dramatically in a manner which the public could not possibly have foreseen, the Government of India has issued a mandate which will have the effect of almost totally prohibiting emigration from this country, whether free or indentured. . . . . . . .We should point out that this noteworthy step has been taken under the Defence of India Act. It would have been very much more appropriate under the Emigration Act, but having regard to the effect which will be produced, we need not for the present argue about the ways and means adopted by the Government."

India's political outlook;

16. In replying to the leader under the heading "The Hindu's Bluster" in Justice of the 16th March (vide Report for the week ending 17th March 1917)--"India's political Outlook"), the Hindu

of the 17th March says:-- "Now that the political union between the members of the Muhammadan and Hindu communities has become an accomplished fact to the great chagrin of Anglo-Indian reactionaries, the counsels of wisdom and pradtical statesmanship inculcated by the gr at patriot (Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji) should be taken to heart by the members of the two communities who should consider it a grave national disservice to prbmote any kind of schism among themselves at the present juncture.

"We find that Dr. Nayar emphasises his statement 'that at the present time educated Indians cannot be depended upon to look after the in erests of the uneducated masses, and that in this respect the uneducated masses, as a rule, get greater justice and fair play at thehands of Englishmen than at the hands of their own countrymen'. This is an imputation of the grossest kind against educated Indians which if true will cut at the root of every kind of political reform in this country. It is a remark which we are accustomed to hear from Englishmen who are enemies to the political elevation of the people of India, and that it should now emanate from one who is an educated Indian himself is a most significant circumstance. . . . . -With the birth of and the tremendous stride which nationalism has made in this country, it is idle and mischievous to assert that the interests of the masses are not safe in the hands of the educated Indians. The prime purpose of every public activity in which Indian leaders have engaged themselves is to uplift the condition of the masses. It behoves every Indian of character and capacity to accelerate the wheels of national progress, and not to retard the same by playing into the hands of our enemies."

Referring to Dr. T.M. Nayar's speech on "Our Immediate Political Outlook," the Nob-Brahman, for the week ending 18th March, writes:- "Madras is receiving shock after shock from the developments of the Non-Brahman movement; and what may be described as the climax was reached last Wednesday when Dr. Nayar spoke on post-war problems. It is easy to dismiss it as destructive criticism; but we should consider that man either a maniac or a blind Home Ruler who will not, after reading it, shake his head and cease prattling of impracticable things. The speech has been published verbatim in Justice, and we challenge every one, from Mrs. Besant to Mr. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, to give answer to his speech. Mr. Nayar's exposure of the Home Rule movement is simply irresistible. Let the Brahmans beware of it betimes. Let them not treat such statesmanlike utterances as the outburst of discontented men. Let them not explain away these signs of a people who are awakening. We are not against progress. We stand for advancement, and we know that in our search for the ideal situation, we are apt to forget that even in England the ideal is not yet reached. But there is this difference. Here power is in exclusive hands. The Brahmans have the strength of a giant, but they use it as a giant also and always."

Justice, of the 19th March, states:- "The Hindu's researches into ... ancient archives have not yielded any proportionate result. We stated that no Congress leader had ever asserted that India ought to get self-government or Home Rule within the next two years until the formation of the Home Rule League. . ..

. . . . .Did Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji say in 1906 that his scheme should be given effect to at once? With regard to the employment of Indians in far larger numbers in the public service, he deplored that a beginning had not been made. Could the Hindu say that since 1906 nothing has been done? It was after Mr. Naorjoi's declaration that Lord Morley as Secretary of State opened the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the Secretary of State's Council, the Viceroy's Executive Council, and the Provincial Executive Councils to Indians. Till then more than one Indian at a time seldom s at on a High Court Bench, but after it, as in Madras, three of four Indians have been elevated to the same High Court Bench at the same time. We may quote other instances, such as the Advocate-Generalship. What again about the admission of Indians into the Imperial War Conference? Does the Hindu still hold that no beginning has yet been made. Even before 1906 and after the passing of the Charter Act of 1833, the British Government did not fail to do what they thought right under the circumstances in order to satisfy Indian claims. Of course the concessions, as in all countries, fell short of the demand. It must, however, be borne in mind that India is a land of creeds, classes, castes and races so numerous and so exclusive in spirit that no responsible Government would be justified in ignoring the existing differences and their own sacred duty to hold the scale even at the bidding of any class however articulate and insistent. Why the rights already conceded have not

produced the desired effect, is because in India almost ~~every-conceded~~ every political question is also a social question, and there is no use concealing the fact from a sense of false patriotism. . . . . On the question of self-government or representative government Mr. Naoroji was equally clear. We shall again go back to the quotation given by the Hindu. Mr. Naoroji said that 'in England itself Parliamentary Government existed for some hundreds of years before even the rich and middle classes and the mass of the people had any voice or vote in it. . . . . It is no use telling us that a good beginning (mark the expression) ~~action~~ cannot be made now in India for what Mr. Gladstone called living representation.' In India Parliamentary Government, as Mr. Naoroji calls it, never existed for hundreds of years, and India itself as a country was a geographical expression merely, with no common basis of national and concerted action. . . . . .Is the Hindu prepared to assert that a beginning has not been made in the direction indicated by Mr. Naorji? Lord Morley's reforms or rather the regulations framed under them are defective; but the question at issue is not the Act of 1909, but the more general one, whether a beginning has not been made. Are we to be told that upon existing basis the Home Rule edifice should at once be reared? Was it for such a consummation within the next few years that Mr. Naoroji propounded his scheme of swaraj? . . . . According to our contemporary, the political

union between the Muhammadan and Hindu communities for which Mr. Naoroji appealed is an accomplished fact; because a handful of delegates to the Congress and the Moslem League, have chosen to join hands and fraternise with one another. But the assumption is too ridiculous. Not only has there been no union of the kind between Hindus and Muhammadans, but Hindus themselves are sharply divided on account of the intolerance and clannishness of a certain class of people into whose hands by sheer accident political power has been lodged for some time pase. . . . . .It is easy enough in print and on the platform to talk like an imperial patriot, and behind the back of the public, so to manipulate the wires as to exalt one's own class or caste above the rest. Perhaps the best answer to the Hindu is the non-Brahman movement and the manifesto which heralded it. Let the Hindu and its clientele settle the matter between themselves and change their policy and methods before they assume to themselves the right to speak in the tone of the dispassionate Indian patriot."

Lancashire and the Indian cotton duty.

19. Justice, of the 17th March, states:- "The House of Commons has rejected by 265 against 125 votes the motion by the Lancashire members disapproving the increase in the Indian cotton duties . . . . .But what is going to be the policy after the war? Mr. Asquith's solution is only a temporary makeshift, and we can well imagine that Lancashire will make every effort to see its interests secured against those of India. . . . .

Of onething we are sure. On this question of fiscal autonomy for India, in India itself there is no difference of opinion. Prince and peasant, European and Indian, and official and non-official, are all of the same view. . . . . .We are glad to note that in this matter the Secretary of State has assumed a decidedly firm attitude. So has the Prime Minister. Mr. Lloyd George is not only a great practical statesman but an Imperial patriot who does not tenaciously cling to out-worn shibboleths. Nothing short of his dominant personality and his vast driving power could have emboldened Mr. Chamberlain to face his Lancashire critics. But Lancashire knows or ought to know that none but those who want its votes or are afraid of its votes will be found on its side. In the face of a united India and of a united Government, no combination, however strong, will be justified in going against the present decision. India will be prepared after the war to make such sacrifices as are essential to the union and strength of the whole Empire. But her people and her Government have a perfect right to resent the unfair treatment which a strong Parliamentary combination would be disposed to accord to them."

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 17th March, says:--"The debate in Parliament on the Indian cotton duties would create a very depressing feeling in India. It shows that Lancashire will fight to the last ditch against the increased cotton duties as soon as the war is over. . . . .

It has so long dictated the fiscal policy of India that it considers the duty unjust, while, as the Maharaja of Bikanir said, there has been but one feeling in India, a feeling of injustice and humiliation. India has not self-government, and therefore cannot frame her own policy, and the Government of India is subordinate to Parliament and must obey its will, which is the will of Lancashire. . . . . .Indian cotton industries have been always sacrificed for the sake of Lancashire, and Lancashire deems it a right inherent in her to settle the policy of India. . . . . .It i some consolation at least that Mr. Chamberlain has emphasised the unanimity of Indian and Anglo-Indian opinion that the special position hitherto accorded to cotton duties in India was a great injustice to India. . . . . India has been sore for over a century and a half. That gross injustice has been done to us is admitted by all honest men who are not interested in perpetuating the selfish supremacy of Lancashire; and it will be a scandal of the first magnitude if India has to remain a slave of Lancashire. . . . . India does not pretend, she does not claim, that she possesses the right to say that Lancashire mustbe placed on the same footing with India in respect of duties which Great Britain might impose on her imports. But it is presposterous to contend that, when India imposes a tax on herself for purposes of revenue, she should also inflict an additional hardship upon herself so that others may not lose. This is exactly Lancashire's contention.

To admit it would be to acknowledge the sovereignty of Lancashire over India. . . . . .All forces are likely to unite against the Government of India, and the Secretary of State will eventually yield to the clamour. India will be sacrificed, and the Government of India will be placed in the position in which she found herself when Lord Elgin openly accepted the mandate of the Secretary of State in 1894. It will be an acknowledgment of helplessness to protect India against Lancashire. . . . . .So far as we can see, there is no hope for India except in the freedom which she has consistently claimed to regulate her own fiscal policy; and this depends upon the question, which is before the Secretary of State, whether India is to have that measure of self-government which will enable her to safeguard her own fiscal interests. The present position is peculiar. The bureaucracy is reluctant to grant self-government to India, but in the absence of self-government the Government of India is unable to protect India's interests."

The Hindu, of the 19th March, remarks:- "Mr. Chamberlain's reply to the Lancashire deputation on Indian cotton duties, full details of which were published on Saturday last, will, we have no doubt, he remembered as one taking rank with the ablest pronouncement that has ever been made on the subject. The plea of equalitu so shamefully set up b the Lancashire millowners was easily shattered to pieces by the Secretary of State who displayed for once such a knowledge of facts and

cogency of arguments that we had so far sought in vain to associate with his name. . . . .
In the circumstances, Mr. Chamberlain did nothing but bare justice to the cause of India in maintaining that, under the policy which inaugurated the countervailing excise duty, what was secured was neither free trade nor fair trade, but protection to Lancashire. . . . .
How unnecessary this silly agitation is on the real interests of Lancashire will be realised if it is remembered that the scope for effective Indian competitionn with Lancashire is extremely limited, being confined to a very small area in the counts between 20 and 30.
This mean and mischievous opposition by Lancashire, to a measure about which there is complete union among all classes of both races, among officials and non-officials, in India, especially at a time when Indian opinion has rapidly gained and is gaining such a strength and solidarity as can only be characterised as marvellous, will not fail to be interpreted, rightly or wrongly, as showing the overweening ambition of commercial England to direct Indian fiscal and industrial policy along channels chalked out by selfish considerations rather than those calculated to advance the political, industrial and social interests of India. . . . . .We much regret to have to state that, unless India is reassured that it will be a permanent feature of Indian financial policy, the enhancement of cotton duties will only be a hope held out to the ear but broken to the heart. It will not only have none of the advantages which an assured permanent increase will secure to the

country by way of stimulating indigenous industries to further enterprise, but may also, we are afraid, actually cause hardship to the consumers by raising prices. Under these circumstances, we trust the Government of India will not be put to the unseemly necessity of what is virtually going upon their pledged word to the great detriment of the prestige of the Government and the well-being of the Indian industrialist and the Indian taxpayer.

27. The Indian Patriot, of the 19th March, has the following:- "We are rather concerned

Dangerous Poetry.

to find the debut, of a poet in the columns of the Madras Mail, who has taken up his fiddle at a time when Baghdad has been taken by the hard work of the Indian soldiers. The fiddling of the Anglo-Indian poet, we are afraid, must be stopped peremptorily, if the Government want the people of India to whole-heartedly offer themselves as soldiers and pay down their money for the Indian War Loan. The poet has made Home Rule the theme and addresses himself to Mrs. Besant. We produce a particularly dangerous couplet below:-

We, meanwhile, feeling somewhat fittish,
Intend to hold with our strong hand
What we have won by sea and land;
Pray, therefore, do not deem us skittish,
Oh! Mrs. B, if we demand
"The British Empire for the British."

Do the Government want our young men to join the army and protect the Empire and not to waste their time in reading out to mad haters the history of India which will show that India was not won by the British sword? And do the Government particularly desire that the British and the Indian soldier in the battle-plain of Baghdad should seriously dispute whether the one conquered the other? Always dangerous to set young India thinking in this fashion, it is particularly unfortunate that such thoughts should be forced into our heads at the present time. Indians feel strongly when such deliberate words are uttered in their ear. It is, of course, easy to find in the pages of the report of the Royal Commission on public service an echo of this dangerous dictum that the British Empire should be for the British. It would be well if a new Royal Proclamation should be issued cancelling the previous ones, so that the current of popular aspirations may be suddenly checked."

28. The Indian Patriot, of the 19th March, remarks:-

The post-war reforms meeting.

"Saturday's public meeting in the Gokhale Hall, under the presidency of Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, showed undoubtedly the measure of support which the constitutional reforms in India proposed by the Indian National Congress and Moslem League and in the memorandum submitted by the nineteen members of the Imperial Council, have received in the country. It is not to be supposed that there is any section of the people who is inclined to resist this progressive advancement intended to meet the wishes of the most

intelligent and the most advanced classes of people in this country, not withstanding that an occasional voice might have been raised here and there to the contrary. We do not think that under the scheme there is any possibility of injustice being done to any section of the people. The scheme as framed recommends the enlargement of the electorate to the utmost possible limit. With an electorate representing the property and intelligence of the people at large, no class which has any claim to be represented in the Government of the country can either be ignored or suppressed. The smaller the strength of a community the more negligible it will become. We are unable to see that any class of people will dominate the bulk of the people, merely by reason of the educational advantages which it possesses."

Writing on this subject Justice, of the 20th March says:- . . . . .The Hon'ble Mr. Ranga Achariyar is one of the rising hopes of the Home Rule party. He was a member of the 'Madras Parliament' and a Cabinet Minister in Mrs. Besant's Ministry. He held the position of President of the Local Government Board and in that capacity introduced and ~~piel~~ piloted a bill through the 'Madras Parliament' to establish Villave Panchayats in this country. For a Cabinet Minister with a seat in the 'Madras Parliament' to enter the Madras Legislative Council is something of a Comd down. Still Mr. Ranga Achariyar, condescended to take this step, but when the Madras Legislative Council would have nothing to do with his

Panchayat Bill which, we believe, had already become an Act of the 'Madras Parliament' his opinion of the Madras Legislative Council went down. He tolerates the Madras Legislative Council in the hope of its being improved some day on the pattern of the 'Madras Parliament'. In politics he is a patriot. He has nothing to do with the petty details of practical politics. All that he cares to consider is whether a measure is for the ultimate good of the country; whether that is practical or impractical does not trouble him. . . . .
The Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao was once described by a European member of the Executive Council as the Gokhale of Madras. Since that time Mr. Ramachandra Rao has had to live up to his newly-appointed position. He had to appear to be very learned and very profound, but unfortunately the one thing which the Bombay Gokhale excelled in and which the Madras Gokhale, we are afraid, had never yet been able to imitate is the faculty of speaking to the point and being clear. When the Madras Gokhale dilated on world politics, the Gokhale Hall audience

> 'Still they gazed and still the wonder grew
>
> That one small head could carry all he knew."

There used to be a Scotch professor who was very learned in his subject, so much so that it was said that when he started lecturing on his subject he got lost in it.

The Madras Gokhale in the fullness of his knowledge very often gets lost in his subject, but men of his eminence and erudition can procure even Governors as guides to conduct them back to the beaten track."

32. The Indian Patriot, of the 20th March, has the following:- "We do not know whether the responsible section of the Anglo-Indian population in India has ever realised that the educated people of India sometimes believe that not only have they no sympathy from the European residents in India, but their active opposition. . . . . .It was the old story of the patronising advice, this time from a jute bag dealer, whose money gave him a position in European society, that Indians should not think of political advancement today, but see how to find out money for the war loan and recuits for the army. . . . . .But it is a strange ignorance of human nature to seriously advise political workers to cease talking politics. They will cease only when they get, if not all that they want, something or a definite promise of something. It is the fashion of European shopkeepers to ignore educated Indians; they have not cared to understand Indian aspirations- . . . . .To them, the Indian demand is only a barter for employments in the same way as the barter for the price of cotton or sheep's skin. They cannot realise the feelings of a people who resolve to take their place among the nations of the Earth. They

Anglo-Indian sympathy.

consider it as nuisance that when they are anxious about the sailings of steamers and the stability of prices, some people should speak of enlarged executive councils and more financial responsibility in administration. Unless a very earnest effort is made to understand Indian aspirations, we fear the Bengali's verdict on Anglo-Indians will be the popular verdict. If, however, they have no time or inclination to study the problem of a rising nation, we wish they will confine themselves to their counter and not make irritating references to Indian politics.

35. The Indian Patriot, of the 21st March, observes:-

The subsidising of newspapers.

"The question of subsidising newspapers has attained more than ordinary importance through the questions asked both in the Imperial as well as in the Madras Legislative Council, While the Madras Government has refused to answer the question put to it, the Government of India have betrayed more than one local Government. . . . . .We can hardly think that the interests of the Government are at all advanced by this means. On the other hand, a paper which receives a subsidy from the Government lowers itself in the estimation of the public and makes itself utterly useless even to do justice to the Government. . . . . .A subsidy is to be condemned in the strongest terms because it involves an expenditure is to be condemned in the strongest terms because it involves an expenditure of public money for which there is no return. The man who receives the subsidy is

degraded and the person who offers it derives no advantage whatever, because anything said by a subsidised journal in support of Government is easily explained as a return for the value of the money and not as suggested by the moral sense of the journalist . . . . .The Government falls under the delusion that by subsidising Indian newspapers they can get the moral support of the Indian community, but, as a matter of fact, the journal which permits itself to be subsided lowers itself in the estimation of the public while the community or the section of the community of which it is a mouth-piece refuse the distinction which the Government thinks it fit to confer upon a journal. If there is really a need for a journal the Government ought to establish one instead of going about corrupting the conscience of newspapers; and it will be well if the Government recognises that its honour and prestige are best safeguarded by strict abstention from a practice which is morally unjustifiable and open to criticism."

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Vernacular Papers.

I. Foreign Politics.

39. The following is culled out of a long letter contributed to the Swadesamitran of the 28th February and the 1st March, by one Mr. Kariamuthy Thyagaraja Chettiyar of Ramnad, who seems to have gone round the plantations in Ceylon merely to have a personal knowledge of the condition of the Indian coolies therein:- The rooms in which these coolies live are 12 feet long, 10 feet broad and 9 feet high; They have no windows. The walls and floor are made of mud. Four coolies should live in every room. In certain plantations, five or six coolies have to occupy one room with their children. Latrines are not generally provided. There are no special facilities provided for ventilation. The health of the coolies is not satisfactory. Though the rule is that the doctor should visit the coolies every alternate day, he comes only once a week. But it is all the same whether he comes once a day or one a week. Though the law provides for coolies being given rice free when they take ill, it is rarely done. The planters say that rice, milk and other comforts are provided at the expense of the plantation. But the complaint in all the plantations is that this is never done. There are no trained midwives in these plantations, nor

The condition of Indian coolies in Ceylon.

has any proper arrangement been made to secure the services of such coolies who take ill, are never sent to the hospital, though it is a crime on the part of a planter to refrain from doing so. As regardx food, it is only in certain plantations that good rice is given to the coolies. In many, the quality of the rice is very bad. The coolies have to take it, as a portion of their wages is given in kind. If a coolie does not work for the specified period in a week, the quantity of rice given to him is reduced, and it is sometimes stopped altogether. If, on such occasions, the coolie should also take ill, he gets practically no food. Though water is availble in the rivers, well water is generally used for drinking purposes. No leisure is allowed to the coolies for having their mid-day food. As for the work, the truth is that it is not difficult. But the supervisors, big kanganis, small kanganis and conductors make it difficult. These used to receive bribes. Many coolies complain of this. It is the planters themselves that are responsible for it. The coolies have to wirk continuously for ten hours in a day. The salary is paid once a month. But the wages for the number of days on which the coolie does not turn out work are withheld. A few coolies who, without falling ill, do work for 26 days in a month, get Rs.10-8-0 a month, But Many earn only Rs.7-8-0. Similarly women can earn Rs.6-8-0 and boys and girls Rs.4 or Rs.5. Taking into consideration periods of illness and periods in which women cannot work, the average income of a coolie does not come to the limit noted above. Many coolies do not

get in cash more than Rs.3 in a month. The accountant of one plantation showed me his account and I saw that, deducting Rs.5-2-0 for a bushel of rice and As.3-6 for the washerman, many coolies did not at all get more than Rs.2 or Rs-2.8.0. This income would no have sufficed them even for their meal. In some families, the earnings of the wife and children are also utilised for maintenance. Others are forced to get into debt. There are no coolies who have not borrowed. Some might have borrowed heavily and others to a smaller extent. Every coolie is a debtor to the extent of Rs.50 to Rs.200, and some are worse. The average debt will work at Rs.100 per coolie. These coolies are deceived in many ways. A larger amount than what the coolie actually borrows is entered in the accounts. Two graduates, who had recently gone on a visit to Ceylon from Madras, seem to have gone round some plantations. They say that they actually saw a kangani counting 8 and 5 to be 15 in settling accounts with a coolie and the ignorant coolie merely nodding his head to it. This will not surprise those who are aware of the ignorance of the coolies. These get everything required by them only from the kanganis, and the latter charge a high price indeed for the articles. The coolies prefer to get articles on credit from the kanganis even at a high price, as they are not able t to pay cash and purchase the articles required by them. Besides the debt incurred in the plantation itself, the coolies often incur an additional debt of Rs.5 to Rs.10.

to tip the small kangani who helps them to change from one plantation to another. Thus the debt of the coolie increases year by year. If the husband or wife or any other relation of a coolie dies, the coolie is made responsible for the debts of the deceased. Though the law is clear on the point that a wife is not liable for the debts of the husband, this curious procedure of making her responsible is adopted in the Ceylon plantations, and it is supported by the kanganis and superintendents. All these evils arise out of the system of advancing money to the coolies. This system converts Ceylon into Andamans as far as the coolies are concerned; for, once a coolie gets into Ceylon, there is no hope of his returning to India, as there is no possibility of his clearing his heavy debt with his paltry income of 5 or 5¼ annas a day. The coolies cannot go to court of their own accord. If any coolie goes to court without the permission of the superintendent, he is immediately arrested for the offence of "attempting to esfape clandestinely". No one but a coolie is permitted to converse with a coolie. Coming to the punishment, a coolie who does not do his work well is fined half a day's or even a day's wages. The punishment of disobedience with caning is a permanent practice. If coolies, who had run away are caught and brought back without a Police warrant, they are not sent for trial before courts of law, but are usually punished by the planters themselves.

If a coolie insists upon getting away to another plantation when his services are necessarily required by a planter, he will immediately be punished by the planters by being caned and kicked. The facts noted above will show that coolies are being treated cruelly. The frequent cases coming before courts show that the relations between the planter and the coolie are very bad. As soon as the coolies become unfit to work, they are sent out of the plantations, and no thought is bestowed on the question as to how they would live thereafter. The law in relation to the coolies is very hard, unreasonable and unsympathetic. It prescribes rigorous imprisonment for failure to work. An Indian as I am, I am ashamed to speak about the conduct of the coolies. The defect of this system is seen clearly only here. It is the fact that the number of women is smaller than that of men that is at the root of the evil. There are schools only is some plantations. In the majority of them there are no schools at all. One who enters a plantation is not allowed to return to his country. If he is to go home, he has to leave his wife or child behind as security for him. No one can even dream of getting out of a plantation without furnishing such security. Such is the condition of the Indian coolies in Ceylon, and a remedy should be found for this soon.

40. The Lokopakari, of the 5th March, writes:- It is

Indnain Indian women in the Fiji Islands.

hard to find one chaste woman among the Indian coolies in these islands. It seems there is

a rule in some plantations that men can have any woman that they please, and that some planters have arranged for one Indian woman having three or four husbands. Ninety per cent of the serious offences committed in these islands are said to be those of the Indians. These Indians get leprosy soon on account of their promiscuous intercourse. It appears that the kangani can ravish any woman he pleases. In these islands, it is the marriage contracted by signing one's name in the Government office and not that done at home in the presence of a number of people, that is considered to be a legal one. Therefore it is very easy for any one to seduce the wife of another. The other races in these islands seem to think that all the Indians will only be of the type found there, and speak disparagingly of our people. If our people do not pay attention to the hardships suffered by the Indians in the Fiji Islands and devise means to redeem them, their lot will become a hopeless one.

Hindu women in the Fiji plantations.

Mr. C. Subrahmania Bharati contributes to the Swadesamitran, of the 12th March, a song purporting to be a metrical rendering in Tamil of what has been written by Mr. Andrews in English:- O, our women suffer so in the sugarcane plantations, that their hands and legs droop wearied. O, the Hindu women shrink in physique with burning hearts. Is there no way, no remedy for ridding them of their misery? They pine away like oxen yoked to an oil-mill. Even a devil, they say, has pity for women. O, God! Will not thy heart be touched? Will the

tears that those wretches shed there mingle with mere earth? In an island that has no eyes in the middle of the southern ocean, maidens languish in the lonely forest. Will they think of their country, or of their maternal home and when they can go and see it. O, you wind, you might have heard their voice when they cried with heaving hearts. Will you not repeat the tale of our maiden's sorrow in that pond of misery, "They have not even the strength to sob." The hearts of those poor maidens throb by their being caught in the cruelty that deprives them of their chastity. Can we allow, O Vira Karali! O, Samundi Kali, those miserable deaths to increase this one moment--deaths that occur more and more, without any refuge.

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

The Criminal Investigation Department.

54. In commenting on the resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. A. Krishna Rao recommending a reduction of Rs.50,000 in the estimate of expenditure on the Criminal Investigation Department, the Andhra-patrika, of the 15th March, writes:- In saying that it is not possible to reduce the expenditure, the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman stated that some people write in the organs of public opinion that the Criminal Investigation Department officers are traitors to the country, and hoped that such talk would not be heard in that meeting. It would have been prettier if he had said that the Criminal

Investigation Department officers were friends to the country. So long as they were engaged in apprehending bad characters, disloyal persons and thieves, nobody ever complained against them. Ever sinde 1907 when this department was developed, the officers having no other work to do, have begun to smell disloyalty in every place and in every man, according to the Telugu proverb about the barber without work. To justify their appointments, they cannot but show some work done by them. It therefore happens that they annoy persons engaged in peaceful avocations, and the servants of the country, who in consequence complain. The Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao stated how Mr. Kppalli Hanumantha Rao and Mr. Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitharamayya, servants of the Andhra country, have been annoyed on their way to Lucknow by these "great souls". Under the regime of the Criminal Investigation Department officers in these days, every servant of the country must be under their good graces. Those who have devoted their lives to the service of the country enter upon such life being determined that the Criminal Investigation Department affliction is one of the many afflictions he has to suffer every day. However patient a man may be he is really vexed at the annoyance, trouble, highhandedness, and rashness that imprudent Criminal Investigation Department officers exhibit now and then. No complaint will arise if they do their wokk secretly. On the other hand they shadow persons by

by putting up where they put up, by driving after them when they drive, by making their appearance before them even when they go to the houses of big gentlemen and by questioning those gentlemen about them. It is not surprising that such devices produce heart-burning. It is difficult for Mr. Gillman who belongs to the ruling class and holds a high office to understand the difficulties which the ordinary subjects experience at the hands of the Criminal Investigation Department. The way in which Mr. Gillman had abused the newspapers deserves therefore to be forgiven. When the Criminal Investigation Department make a noise, it happens that letters appear in newspapers and the editors comment upon them. If it is the opinion of Mr. Gillman that the editors write cock and bull stories about the Criminal Investigation Department Officers who are innocent, mild and good, we hope he will soon disabuse himself of that notion. The responsibility, impartiality and patriotism which Mr. Gillman possesses are also possessed by the editors of newspapers. "The one that stung is good while the one that cried is a mad fool" It is said that the Criminal Investigation Department officers are not wrong in their actions, but that the publication, in newspapers, of the complaints of the aggrieved is false abuse. The people write to some paper like New India, the Hindu or the Andhra-patrika about the troubles they suffer at the hands of the Criminal Investigation Department officers and not to the Mail or the Pioneer. Is it just under such circumstances to say that the newspapers publishing such correspondence are papers that lie? That the Hon'ble Mr. Gillman has admitted it as true that gentlemen are at the mercy of the

Criminal Investigation Department officers shows the need for comments in the columns of newspapers. We admit that Government will not even in their dream advise the Criminal Investigation Department officers to annoy the innocent. But according to the moral codes the masters cannot but share the sins of the servants partly at least. We are grateful to Mr. Gillman for stating that Government would issue orders for freeing the Indians from the troubles caused to them by these feluf-
fault-finders.

64. The Swadesamitran, of the 5th March, writes:-

Instruction in the art of navigation to Indians.

Pleading for the establishment of institutions in India for imparting instruction in navigation, Mr. D.P. Vasikara writes to a Bombay journal thus:--"So long as INDIA IS dependent on ships owned by foreigners and on unsympathetic Railway Companies in transporting the raw products of India from one place to another, it cannot soon have industrial development. India has a coast line of about 4,000 miles in length and fine ports. Its seaborne trade is large and most of the Indians have taken to voyages." Mr. Vasikara says further that since the Bombay University has provided for conferring degrees for proficiency in commerce, it can also provide for conferring degrees for proficiency in ship-building and navigation and that the Bombay Municipality may establish an institution for imparting instruction in navigation in the same way as

some municipalities have done in England. It may be remembered in this connection that the Hon'ble Mr. Muhammad Yusuf Ismail has offered a ship for training Indian youths in navigation. It will, therefore, be well if the authorities and the public bestow proper attention on this and take steps to establish such institutions in seaport towns like Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta and Madras.

87. The Swadesamitran, of the 1st March, writes:- This Bill was passed into law at the

The Indian Defence Force Bill.

Meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council yesterday. It is now clear that the intention of the authorities is to enlist in the Indian Defence Force as many non-Indians as possible, be they Europeans or Anglo-Indians, as the Anglo-Indians have now specially been taken to be European British subjects. This creates a new distinction between the Indians and the Anglo-Indians in India, in addition to the distinction which was made usually between the European British subjects and the Indians. The Hon'ble Mr. V.S. Srinivasa Sastriyar objected to this distinction of race and creed and, pointing out that this Bill showed the distrust of Indians on the part of the Government, moved that the amendment in the Bill in connection with this should be dropped. The Commander-in-Chief, however, pleaded for the retention of the amendment on the ground that the Bill was an emergency measure, and that it was not possible to waste the military training already received by the Anglo-Indians. But it is stated separately in the Bill that the existing Volunteer Corps should be brought under the provisions of this Bill and

amalgamated with the new Defence Force. Thus a provision has been made already for utilising the services of the Anglo-Indians in the Volunteer Corps and there does not therefore seem to be any necessity for recognising the Anglo-Indians as European British subjects first and then enlisting them in the new Force. But this gives the Anglo-Indians a superior status to that of the Indians openly. It is indeed highly regrettable that, in spite of the strong opposition of our representatives to the Indians not being given an equal status with the Anglo-Indians., our people had been made to occupy a lower position in this Bill. The amendment proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma that Indians should be sent to the colleges giving military training with a view to their being given the higher appointments in this new force was opposed by the Commander-in-Chief on the ground that it would be a serious change to allow Indians to occupy the higher positions in the army and that such a change could not be introduced in this new force, which was being formed in haste for the purpose of the war. We need not say that the amendment of Mr. Sarma, if carried out, would have fulfilled a great desire strongly impressed on the mind of every patriotic Indian. Another amendment proposed by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that Indian youths between 16 and 18 should, like the European youths, be given military training also received a similar reply from the Government. When the Government are prepared to make all the necessary arrangements for such youths among the European British subjects and the Anglo-Indians, we

cannot understand the statement that such arrangements will not be compatible with the present emergency only in the case of the Indian youths. Though it is true that the new Defence Force has to be formed in great haste for the purpose of being used immediately in this time of war, it is not proper on the part of the Government to assign this as a reason for not bestowing proper attention upon the defects in such an important military scheme and remedying the same. It is because the official votes are in the majority in the Imperial Legislative Council that all the propositions of the representative members were rejected. We shall rest content with the promise of the Government that all these points would be considered, when permanent arrangements would be made after the war. We hope that this will not abate the enthusiasm of the Indians to join the army and that they will enlist to the extent required by the Government.

88. The Prapanchamitran, of the 2nd March, hails with delight the announcement by the Viceroy that an Indian defence force will be formed, in which all the Indians will be permitted freely to enlist and says:-

The Indian Defence Force.

The opinion of the Indian public is that there should be no distinction whatever, beween the European British subjects and Indians in this corps. It is only then that numerous corps will be formed in a moment. We learn that Indians who join this corps will be treated like ordinary sepoys. The Arms Act, which has been in force in our country for a long time, has deprived our people of

all manliness. So they may be afraid to join the army. Further, how many Indians would like to serve in the army, receiving the salary of an ordinary sepoy, at this time when famine has ruined the country and the majority of the people are so poor as to find it difficult to have even full meal? Then again, will the educated people relish the position and salary of an ordinary sepoy? The Viceroy has not stated whether commissions will be given to Indians. But the Commander-in-Chief said that, when the Indians became fit for holding 'the higher appointments in the army, they would be given the same. When a member suggested that the Government should soon make arrangements to befit the Indians for the higher appointments in the army, the Commander-in-Chief replied that nothing could be done without bestowing sufficient thought on the subject. When will the Government make the Indians fit to hold these higher appointments, and when will the Indians themselves become fit for them? If there is at least the certainty that they will have the higher appointments, many educated Indians will join the force immediately. The confidence which the Government have in the Indians and that in the educated classes, is not sufficient. Nevertheless we should not ignore even this small privilege granted to us by the Government. We should acquire military training and join this corps. Thereby firstly, we are helping our Government to curb the mischief of Germany and, secondly, we will acquire strength and valour as a result of the use of arms and experience in war and will be able to defend our country, against the

invasion of foreigners, when we obtain swaraj. So we should, without caring for the defects in this Bill, join this army in hundreds and thousands, in view of the duty we owe to our king and the honour and the future glory of our country. If we fail to perform this duty now, if we let loose this opportunity, we would doubtless have done harm to our country itself.

The Indian Defence Force.

In its leader on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 9th March, makes a strong appeal to the public to respond to the call to join this force and observes:- A rare opportunity has arisen for the Indians to render military service in a manner not anticipated by any, and it is the duty of all Indian youths under forty-one years of age to welcome it. If we let slip this opportunity, we shall be rendering ourselves unfit for making efforts to obtain other rights also. Till now the Indians were not admitted to the army, excepting those military classes whom the Government regarded as such. In consequence of the exclusion of the many classes from the army, their hereditary valour became tarnished in the gradual course of time. Even the Mahrattas, who fought with the English themselves in the early days of the British rule, have shared in the exclusion. Though war is productive of evil, it helps to cultivate heroism in the people. The British youths have thrown aside their books and gun in hand, have taken their place in the front lines amidst the booming cannon. We are not given so difficult a task; but the Government have only entrusted us with the task of guarding this country-- a task, indeed, that is suited to us who have lost our martial habits for long. Military training and warlike habits will not only help to make our nation rise in

self-esteem, but will win for it the esteem of other nations. Our hopes are possible of being realized soon by reason of our coming forward to help the Government unhesitatingly. There is absolutely no doubt at all, therefore, that our future will depend upon the course of action that we now adopt. It is true that our Government might have laid down the conditions of service with a more liberal spirit. But this is not the time for us to talk of it. We shall accept the conditions as they are and do what we can; then we shall point out to the Government what their duty is, and represent to them our grievances and rights. It is the duty of our youths to pave the way for us to urge our requests and make the Government grant them. May the children of the Bharata land conduct themselves so as to strike the wonder of the world with their patriotism and loyalty, and make the Government regret the suspicion they entertained against them till now.

The Prapanchamitran, of the 9th March, has a leader on this subject in which it writes much to the same effect, and observes:- Our loud cry of over thirty years has now moved the Government to grant our prayer. It is true indeed that they have held a difference between the Europeans and the Indians joining this force by giving the former higher pay, while the Indians are to be given the pay of an ordinary sepoy, whatever their learning and status may be. But, which is of greater value to us--money or honour? Is it not because we have

always held money as dross, that all the nations have made this country their place of living? Again let it not be thought that this privilege is to last only till the end of the war. If we join the force and prove to the Government that the trust they have reposed in us has not been in vain, and that we have conducted ourselves loyally towards them, the Indian force may be made permanent. Again the grievance exists that we shall not be given the offices of command in the army. But when we have yet to receive training to serve as ordinary soldiers, why should we now think of the higher posts? There is no doubt that we shall be appointed to them when we shall have acquired efficiency in military service. In this sacred land of 30 crores of people, where in every house a hero lived, is it difficult that a lakh of men should come forward to serve as soldiers? This alone is the first step for us to acquire swaraj. The English will not admit that we are fit for it, if we do not now join this force. Mr. Tilak, the veternan patriot, has sent his son to the army. The duty of true patriots now is to join this force.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 10th March, reproduces an article from the Swadesaparipalini on this subject, in which occurs the following:- The educated sections in India have long been pressing for this right, and European papers like the Madras Mail say that the Government have all along been regarding this claim to be reasonable. The Government might have found till now no opportunity to grant the right; but they have found

it now in the present war and have allowed the claim. The present jubilation of the learned classes over it shows the eagerness with which they have been urging this claim till now. Who all will be admitted to the army and what efforts will be made for their joining it, have not been published by the Government. But after due orders have been issued to the Military authorities, they will enlist the names of the Indians who will be admitted. Every class should have a separate detachment, such as the vakils' corps, doctors' corps, and students' corps. However this may be, there wshould at least be detachment known as the corps of learned men. These qill join the army in large numbers, if they are given equal rights with the Europeans. Our wishes will in a way be realized when the rules of the Volunteer Force are published.

The Indian Defence Force.

The Lokopakari, of the 12th March, refers in its leader to the whole of India being in a high state of excitement, on being entrusted with the responsibility of defending itself, and writes:- Even according to the saying "make hay while the sun shines", we should all come forward to join the Defence Force. There is none who does not wish to defend himself and his country. Till now we have not had the opportunity to realise this wish. But it was not our fault, nor that of the Government either. It was God's will. We, the descendants of famous heroes, have been till now like eunuchs. If we have not the capacity in us for defending our country, how can we be said to possess the capacity for self-government. Good days have now come to us to establish the greatness of our ancestors and the glory of our country. All English

students are discharging their duty on the battlefie,d holding life as of no value. Such a responsibility has NOT YET been entrusted to us. If we acquire the capacity for self-government. Good days have now come to us to establish the greatness of our ancestors and the glory of our country. All English students are discharging their duty on the battlefield, holding life as of no value. Such a responsibility has not yet been entrusted to us. If we acquire the capacity for defending our country, we shall not fail to acquire the capacity to fight on the battlefield in due course. We should not now draw back from the consideration that we would be admitted to the Defence Force only till the end of the war, and would not be admitted as Volunteers after the war. If we had allowed the Japanese to defend our country, we should be no better than eunuchs. If we discharge the duty of defending our country, without caring for, pay and status, all good things will fall to our share, and God will not forsake us; nor will the British Government forsake the Hindus who freely render help with body, wealth and life.

The mighty gift of India for the war.

89. Referring to the decision arrived at by the Government at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council to make a gift of 150 crores of rupees to the British Government for purposes of the war, the Swadesamitran, of the 2nd March, remarks:- Neither the ratepayers nor their representatives in the Legislative Council were consulted before this decision

was arrived at to make such a large gift from the money collected as taxes from the people. The fact was announced only after it had been decided upon, and no steps were taken to hear or ascertain opinions on and objections to it. Though, according to the existing policy, the Government of India are entitled to spend the amount collected as taxes from the people, without obtaining their consent or permission, in the administration of India, they have no right to spend it for any purpose unconnected with the Indian administration.
The Hon'ble Mr. Sarma pointed out that, as the law was that the Government of India should obtain the sanction of the British Parliament for spending the money of the Government of India for any military purpose outside India, this Government had no power to give away such a large amount for a military expenditure not incurred by them. Though this point may not be decided now, it will doubtless have to be considered later. We hope that it will be noted that, while the Parliament was trying to amend the law on this matter, the Government of India have themselves made the gift without consulting the people. Though it is an easy thing for the Government to secure necessary enactment or obtain the necessary consent, it has first to be considered whether the Indians are able to make such a large gift. India has not got out of her poverty evey in this time of war like the Colonies. It cannot be said that the industries of this country will, now or in the future, be in the hands of the people themselves, as is the case with the Colonies. So we would entreat the Government to

reduce, as much as possible, this burden of paying permanent additional taxes to the extent of one crore of rupees every year. There is no doubt that our Indians are bound to give up their body, life and wealth and make every sacrifice for bringing the war to a victorious end. We request the Government to note whether, in making such sacrifices, we will be justified in undertaking a larger responsibility and making a far larger gift of money than the other portions of the empire have done, considering our economic condition and the fact of our being the subjects of a dependent country. We doubt whether the action of the Government of India, in easily undertaking this heavy burden, will make it difficult for our people to secure their rights, unless they make proper efforts for the purpose, when, later, the distribution of the burden of the expenditure in this war or that which may be incurred after it for military and defence purposes on the different units of the empire, or the question of enlarging the representative element in the Government in reconstituting the empire is considered in the Imperial Councils. It will, therefore, be necessary for us to make mighty efforts to enable the British public to understand clearly our aspiration for swaraj, in view of the true condition of our country and the sincere loyalty and real progress of our people, and to define our position in the empire, our legitimate duties and the form of self-government we require. We will urge that India is prepared like the Colonies to help the British with loans, as much as it lies in her power, as she has been doing till now. If, considering the financial condition of India and the needs of the

empire, it is found necessary to increase our pecuniary help by crores, we need not say that we are ready to bear any burden, however large it may be.

The Prapanchamitran, of the 2nd March, also grumbles at India having to pay such a large sum as one hundred million pounds for helping Britain in this war, and observes:- How are we poor Indians to get on afterwards, after giving such a big amount? For the last two years, education and sanitation have been pushed to the back ground. India is getting poorer day by day. We have till now given to England what all we could for the war, and we are ready to give what further lies in our power. But if we are literally squeezed, how are we to live? Some Anglo-Indians and Englishmen were often crying out that India was not helping England sufficiently. Is it to stifle this cry that India gives this large sum?

The Hindu Nesan, of the 3rd March, too, thinks that India is not in such an opulent condition as to make such a large gift and adds:- Even in making this gift, we think that the right of offering it should have been allowed to be exercised by the popular representatives, instead of the Government taking the initiative in the matter. When in 1914 Sir Gangadar Chitnavis proposed that India should contribute a portion of her income towards the expenses of the war, the Government were not inclined to act upon this suggestion. Now that they are willing to do so, the proper course for them will be to ask a representative member to move a

resolution again on the subject, which will be accepted by the Government. We wish such a procedure is adopted at the adjourned meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council to be held on the 7th instant for discussing the budget. The only other question connected with this gift is whether the Imperial Government will remember the gift made by India beyond its capacity, and whether they will take the necessary steps for India to acquire that status in the empire, which she deserves, after the war. There is no doubt about the Imperial Government remembering the gift. But their mind cannot but waver in giving that status for India which she deserves. They will hesitate to give India the same position that is occupied by the colonies and the same privileges that are enjoyed by them. They are bound to feel that a thousand colonies will not be equal to one India, and raise the status of the latter. No colony has given the mighty gift which India gies.

The Lokopakari, of the 5th March, also refers to this gift and remarking that, if this gift had been announced on the approval of the representative members, it would have given greater satisfaction to the Indians, adds:- An attempt to spend the revenues of India in directions other than those intended to secure the progress and protection of India cannot but cause discontent among the Indians. It was a matter of dissatisfaction to them that a larger army than what was required for the defence of India was stationed here and that the cost of its maintenance was borne by the Indian revenues. The Parliamentary law is clear

on the point that, if this army is used for the protection of other places than India, India will not be bound to bear the cost of its maintenance. Nevertheless, though all the troops in India have been sent to take part in the European war, the cost of their maintenance is still being met only from Indian revenues. India has till now contributed £11,500,000 to England for this purpose, and as if this will not do, she has consented to give another 150 crores of rupees. The Indians are prepared, like the British, to defend the British Empire at the cost of their body, life and wealth; and the British are bound to return this by improving the education, industries and trade of the Indians, so as to give them complete satisfaction.

92. The Prapanchamitran, of the 2nd March, reproduces an extract of a soliloquy under this head from some old paper in which mother Bharata bewails the poverty of her children, the miserable pass to which they had come and her own helpless condition and, suddenly exclaiming with ecstatic delight that her children, by the grace of the Almighty, have begun to adore her even more ardently than before, observes:- "When I see my children's stalwart gait and strength of mind which faces any suffering, I am reminded of the gait of Karna, the shoulders of my beloved Ārjuna and the look of Bhishma, Whence has my child acquired again this strength and determination? Where were they hidden till now?

The wailing of mother Bharatha.

My prayer has been heard by the Almighty. My heart-burn has evoked His Mercy. There is no more misery."

The present juncture and the duty of the Indians.

93. A Bombay correspondent of the Prapanchamitran, of the 2nd March, singning himself K.V.P. Sivam repeats the description already given by this paper of the three individuals who have been chosen by the Government to help the Secretary of State in the Imperial War Conference and adds:- Of these three, Sir James Meston will try to bring Indiaunder the rule of the Colonies and Mr. Sinha will help him by saying that India is not yet fit to have swaraj, while the Maharaja of Bikanir will look to his own business. A recent telegram says that Mr. Lloyd George is also a Round Table man. So, woe unto India. All circumstances, which will lead to our mother India being, compulsorily and against her will, pushed down to a lower level than the one which she is in now and which is low enough, exist at present. If we sleep over the matter without making the necessary efforts immediately, ours will be the fault. All our greatness will become equal or evan inferior to that of the savages in the middle of Africa. We will only be in the position of their servants working for them in all matters which are essential for making life excellent throughout the world and we ourselves can never lead happy lives.

We will only be sending our raw products like cotton to foreign countries and lose much money unnecessarily and ignorantly by purchasing the same again in the shape of cloth. We will have always to leave appointments carrying thousands and tens of thousands of rupees as salary in the hands of the "colourless" people and lead our lives only with appointments carrying a monthly salary of Rs.12-8-0. In every respect we will thus occupy only a low level. Though a person charged with an offence is incarcerated without trial, he has no right to open his mouth but has to keep quiet. We cannot open our mouth and we will have no privileges. There will be no difference between ourselves and the bulls ploughing our lands. So what should we do now? Is there no way of preventing all this confusion? Yes, there is. Swaraj is the nectar for this disease. It is self-government that will raise us from our low position. As long as we have not this, we merely live but do not enjoy our life. We should try to acquire this somehow after this war. We should not do anything against the law. There is a way of managing this without transgressing the law. We should ourselves send our leaders immediately to England and through them acquaint the British public, who hold the rope that moves the doll of India, with our real condition. The Englishmen love liberty and, if we demand it, they will not mistake us but appreciate us. If we move their hearts, we will have swaraj and that very soon. There is no use of asking anything of any one in India, nor is there any use in cajolling those in high positions in England. Liberty is with the British public and it is they that can give it. So my brethren!

Wake up. Send your leaders to England this moment. Friends! If you find it impossible to begin this, follow Tilak. He is the true son of mother Bharata and a sincere Aryan hero. He is the embodiment of the all-mighty Maha Sakti. It is only he that can lead us all in the proper path. He is organising a number of Home Rule leagues. Many have already sought refuge with him. Why do you alone delay? Fall at his feet immediately. There, he is fast completing the arrangements for sending a leading Indian deputation to England. Run up to give him all assistance. The more you delay, the greater will be the evil resulting therefrom.

94. Referring to the reply given by the Viceroy to this deputation, the Swadesamitran, of the 6th March, observes:- It is to be noted that the Viceroy admitted that the glorious principle of the Englishmen was to see that the natural rights of the people were not interfered with. But he has not said anything in his long speech offering proper reasons for these rights being interfered with and for the newspapers being bound in several ways by the attitude of the officials in India. The fact that, for a period of seven years after the passing of the Press Act, only very few papers have been brought under its preparation, cannot by itself justify the continuance of this Act. Another curious statement made by the Viceroy was that the increase of presses and newspapers within the last seven years proved the utility of this Act. Lord Hardinge had clearly described in his last speech the progress made by this country during the last seven years and the

The Press deputation to the Viceroy.

strong views of the people regarding education, industry and political ideals. It is, therefore, the contention of our representatives that, but for this Act, the number of newspapers and other publications should have increased in proportion to this progress and benefited the people. How can we then take the argument of the Viceroy to be a sound one. Leaving alone the very light and unsympathetic manner in which the Viceroy spoke of the dangers that ensued to the newspapers and the editors on account of this Act, that he should have generally charged the newspapers in India with having for many years published enough of seditious and defamatory matter, and asked the members of the deputation to take it for a bit of plain speaking will cause not only surprise but also discontent throughout the country. Surely, he cannot be responsible for this opinion of his. We will attribute it to the one sided view placed before him by the bureaucrats. If, as was stated by the Viceroy, the laws passed during the last forty years have had no effect in curbing the mischief of the newspapers in India, cannot the officials, who enact these laws, think for once that the mistake might after all lie with themselves? Instead of doing this, the Viceroy takes it for granted that there are some inherent defects in the Indian newspapers and sincerely believes that the only way of removing these defects is to introduce a measure, which does not exist in English countries and which is contrary to English methods. This is regrettable. Perhaps he thinks that the papers and the public want him

to refrain from checking the faults of this or that editor. All that they want is that the editors should be tried in a Court of Law for the offences committed by them and then punished. The Indians do not see why the editors in India alone should commit greater mistakes than other people or men of their class in other countries. The opinions published by these editors may cause provocation or disgust to those officials who conduct the administration without taking the popular representatives into their confidence. But the Viceroy says that there is no mistake in this. They say that the fault of the Indian editors is that their writings pervert the political activity and the inclinations of the students in the country. Though it was pointed out in the representation made by the editors that there was no proof whatever for this fact, we do not find that the Viceroy has offered any satisfactory explanation for this. Another feature in the reply of the Viceroy is that he has used unnecessarily harsh words regarding the opinions expressed by High Court Judges in connection with cases brought under this Act. This is not at all desirable in the in erests of the progress and the glory of the Government. We have to note here that the authorities have been of late more and more inclined to attach greater importance to the conclusions of the executive officials than to the decisions of the judiciary. The public will grieve at this new departure from a time-honoured English principle. Though this may be taken to be suitable to the present critical juncture on account of the war, every intelligent man will admit that it will not be conducive to the future progress. His last

statement that, if the editors themselves reformed the papers, there would be no necessity to amend the Press Act, is an apt conclusion indeed to his speech. It is really the misfortune of the newspapers that the Viceroy has thus spoken with a lack of sympathy about their difficult task in which they have to consider their own work, their conscientious duty to the public, the policy of the Government and the attitude of the officials.

In commenting on this subject, the Hindu Nesan agrees in the view of the Viceroy that this is not a proper juncture for the Press Association to have sent a deputation to the Viceroy on this subject.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 8th March, reproduces the comments of the Tribune, the Punjabee, the Amrita Bazaar Patrika and the Bengalee on this subject.

The Viceroy's reply to the Press representatives.

Referring to the reply given by the Viceroy to the representatives of the press recently, the Lokopakari, of the 12th March remarks as follows:- There is no room for supposing that the reply will be acceptable to all. What the Viceroy says is indeed true. But our opinion is that it is not proper to keep the entire body of editors and press-owners always in a state of fear, for the sake of a few of them who are unwise. Laws necessary for punishing disloyal editors and presses are already in existence. Therefore it was only a reasonable request on the part of the Press representatives to have asked that the present Press Act might be repealed. We therefore look forward to its repeal at least after the war is over.

The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 14th March, in a leader on the marginally noted subject gives a translation of the reply given by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford to the Press deputation and says:- "We should now hope that the Press Act will not be repealed. The means of saving ourselves from its operation is in our own hands. That is to say we should not make mistakes in the discharge of our duty and the claims, which the Government has upon us, should be appreciated and discharged. Patriotism does not mean that every act of the Rulers should be criticised. The responsibility of the Press is a very grave one. If we have taken the burden of this responsibility upon our shoulders in the bearing of it, we should exhibit the utmost self-control, forbearance, fair play and straightforwardness, otherwise we shall prove ourselves to be inimical to the claims of our profession.

The Press deputation.

Referring to this deputation and the reply given by the Viceroy thereto, the Vijayavikatan, of the 14th March, observes in its own comic strain:- The Government brought newspapers into existence for the purpose of openly discussing what takes place publicly and secretly in the country and the merits and demerits of the rulers and the subjects, and this is the work of the newspaers. How can it be fair on the part of the Govern ment, which brought these papers into existence, to enact several laws, which in effect snatch away their privilege? In the time of Lord Elgin, the Governor of Bombay played havoc with the newspapers, acting on the advice of a few others, so as to suppress some disturbances which took place at the time in connection with the plague

The Press deputation to the Viceroy.

regulations. My God! If the history of all the laws passed then should be detailed the Defence of India Act will carry away his head in one moment. Same laws which were framed in that tumultuous period are still in force in India.

The Press Act and His Excellency the Viceroy.

The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 15th March, writes that the Press deputation cannot give any reasonable answer to the eloquent and convincing speech of His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to their address.

The editor in giving an extract from the Viceroy's speech asks whether the high-minded members of the deputation had not foreseen that the burden of proof would rest upon them in the last. Apart from that whether they had not found a suitable opportunity for submitting their claims and whether they had considered this critical juncture a suitable occasion for putting forward their request. The fact is the effect of the Press Act has stemmed a regular stream of scurrility, from the year 1910. The same powerful agent will arrest the stream of vilification as long as the Act remains in force. The idea of the present Press Act being the ruin of the journalistic world is a mere figment of the imagination. As a matter of fact this Act does not produce any adverse effect on those papers or periodicals, which are the well-wishers of, and tender good advice to, the Government and country. On the contrary it increases their sincerity and good intentions. Just as a buttress supports a wall

this Act strengthens their intentions. Just as a buttress supports a wall this Act strengthens their intentions. There is no better means than this that can be made use of by a civilised power like the British Government for checking those who hold different views.

We fully believe that the Press Committee will be perfectly reassured and satisfied with His Excellency the Viceroy's reply. It is the practice of every sensible person to accept clear and reasonable proofs, although they may be opposed to his preconceived notions and to admit his mistakes and errors.

"Our duty is merely to convey the mesaage."

Protest meeting regarding the Report of the Public Services Commission.

96. The Mahavikatadhutan, of the 17th February, remarks as follows on this meeting held on the 10th idem:- The proceedings of the meeting were conducted as though they would be paid any heed to by the Government, whose policy is to tell the people to keep off when they approach with any prayer.

The dissenting minute of Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim in the Report of the Public Services Commission.

97. Referring to this minute, a correspondent of Mahavikatadutan, of the 10th March, writes:- The Judge asks whether the European officials can carry on the administration even for a day without the help of the educated Indians. This is a strange statement. He seems to forget that the Englishmen never, even in a dream, concur in his view that they govern India only with the help of the educated Indians. When the

Englishmen began to govern India systematically, did they hesitate, on account of the absence of the educated Indians? If the Judge bestow some thought on the subject, he will clearly see that the Englishmen have been governing India for a long time by their own natural capacity, that the people are much dissatisfied with the educated Indians, who are mostly officials belonging to the higher caste, and that their love for and confidence in the English officials have increased.

The Viceroy's speech and the indentured labour system.

98. Referring to the Viceroy's speech in the Imperial Legislative Council recently, the Vijayavikatan, of the 17th February, comments as follows:- What he said therein regarding this system of labour was opposed to humanity, righteousness, justice and God. When the Hon'ble Handit Madan Moham Malaviya urged that his system should be abolished forthwith, the Viceroy remarked that he was hasty. Is he to be so characterised, because he spoke from a knowedge of the condition of affairs in the world, and the indignity involved in the question? I have aot till now seen any Governor-General replying to an Honourable Member in this way. Perhaps, the Viceroy's idea is that, if the indenture system could remain in force for five years more, during which he is to stay in India, it does not matter to him how the Indians fare afterwards. His statement that the system would be continued has caused great regret and hatred. In saying so, he seems to have cared only for the welfare of a few planters, and not in the least for the complaints of 36

crores of people of for their advantages. It was not at all proper for the Viceroy to have called Pandit Malaviya hasty, while in fact he himself was so. That the Viceroy should have stated that this system should continue for another five years looks like a ship casually passing by, stopping at a distance and offering succour to the wrecked men of a torpedoed vessel, if they would find their way to her.

The Madras Mail on the indenture system.

99. The Vijayavikatan, of the 26th February, publishes what purports to be a translation of an article on this subject which has appeared in the Madras Mail and observes:- It is a journal conducted by Anglo-Indians, and always used to speak in opposition to the views of the Indians. We are surprised to find that such a journal has written with sympathy on the indenture system. We believe that it will be well if the Government pay their attention to what the Mail has said, instead of being exasperated.

The Englishman on the indenture system.

100. Reproducing in Tamil the observations made by the Englishman recently on this system of labour, and speaking of the uniformly unsympathetic attitude of that paper towards Indian views and aspirations, the Vijayavikatan, of the 26th February, remarks:- The paper does not at all seem to consider the fact that Indians are the owners of this country and they (the Englishmen) are, in any case, like men staying in a choultry for a time and going away.

101. Referring to the reply of the Secretary of State for India to the Government of India's despatch on this subject, and the statements said to have been recently made by him in the House of Commons regarding the same, the Hindu Nesan, of the 27th February, writes as follows:- We have to be praying constantly and incessantly for the abolition of this system. In his reply, the Secretary of State for India has stated that Government of India also should share to some extent in the responsibility of finding out a substitute for this system, and that if they would say more definitely what they require to be done in the matter, it would be of help to the Colonial Governments. The changes to be carried out in the system hereafter by the Colonies depend therefore upon a more detailed statement of what the Government of India ask for. We cannot expect from this that this system would be abolished soon; on the contrary, the likelihood of it is only receding farther. Apart from this indignity felt by the people, the Secretary of State for India stated in the House of Commons that he was glad to announce to them the great improvement effected in the condition of the indentured coolies by the changes made in the Colonial laws. It is not possible that this shameless condition of the coolies should appeal to the Colonial Government or to the Imperial Government which is naturally predisposed towards the Colonies. Public opinion in India continues to be still strongly in favour of the abolition of this system without a moment's loss of time. The indignity of it has been till now confined to men alone; but now it has begun to wound the feelings of women also and to cause misery to

Indentured labour system.

them. It will not, therefore, be too much for us to say that under these circumstances, the Secretary of State for India is bound to come to the conclusion that this system should be abolished at once, whatever may be the nature of the conveniences or inconveniences caused by it to the Colonies.

~~On this subject, the Desa~~

Views of the people and of the authorities on the indenture system.

102. Referring to the meeting held at the Gokhale Hall on the 4th March 1917 under the presidency of Mr. Polak for the abolition of the indenture system, the proceedings of which are published elsewhere in the same issue of the paper in Tamil, the Swadesamitran, of the 5th March, observes:- The Secretary of State for India and the Government of India are alone responsible for the fact that the question of the indenture system, which was considered to have been disposed of on the 20th March last, is still pending disposal, and for meetings of men and women being held throughout the country for the discussion of this subject. Lord Hardinge openly admitted, among other things, that it was not the duty of this country to supply coolies to other countries with a view to their prosperity. But he said that some time should be given to the Colonies so that they might prepare themselves for the new conditions that would be caused by the prevention of indentured coolies from going to them. We consented to it. But it is now eleven months and a half since he said so, and what have the Colonies done during this intervening period? Have they endeavoured to recruit coolies from other countries? Have they agreed to pay higher wages to the Indian coolies, so as to induce them

to go to those countries of their own accord? Have they commenced constructing, in the place of the present lodgings which are like cattle sheds, houses for coolies in the way in which they are built for the European coolies in Australia and other countries? So far as we are aware, they have only modified the law in view to doing away with corporal punishment for absence from duty. Is this the only grievance of the coolies? We are not bound to wait any longer. Again, the Colonies have requested their Secretary to see that the indenture system may be continued for a few years more. This really means that, if we agree to its retention for another five years, it will in fact continue in force for ten years more, since those that enter into a contract at the end of the fifth year are bound to work on for five years more from thence. In the meantime, how many women might lose their chastity? How many children might be nurtured in evils? How many suicides might be committed? How many might be weaned from the peaceful temperament natural to the Indians and, tempted by jealousy and other evil passions, commit murder and fall in the hell? How can the Hindus, who rise from their beds in the morning with the names of virtuous women on their lips, consent to their women losing their chastity, on account of the worldly gains of others? The Secretary of State for India has not understood the feelings of the men and women of this country in this matter, but thinks that we have not perhaps understood the condition of affairs sufficiently well. We have well understood how the coolies are recruited with tales of huge gains, and what miseries they are subjected to there. Again, he says that this system has a political bearing; but

political bearing applies to worldly matters of gain or loss. Can the profits that could be derived by the continuation of this system for some years compensate for the deprivation of our women's chastity? To whom will the sin attach? Jesus Christ, who founded the religion of our rulers, has said: "If a man conquer all the world and lose his soul, what shall he have gained?"

The Hindu Nesan, of the 6th March, publishes in Tamil a summary of the proceedings of the public meeting held at the Gokhale Hall on the 4th idem under the presidency of Mr. Polak to protest against the continuation of this system for a long time.

Indenture system and the Secretary of State for India.

103. Publishing what purports to be a translation of the reply of the Secretary of State for India to the despatch of the Government of India on this subject, the Vijayavikatan, of the 7th March, observes as follows:- The Secretary of State refuses to listen to the cry that is being raised in all parts of India for the abolition of this system, but thinks that the system should continue for some years more, which gives room for the idea that he is unable to understand the character of India and its people. The chastity of women is destroyed; brutal methods are employed; cruel murders are committed; and a country's people die vile deaths. Whatever else may be neglected, the honour of women should be safeguarded. Women here cry out and pray for pity in their sisters' behalf. To what can we compare the character of the Secretary of State for India, who cannot show pity for women?

Considering the way in which he speaks in favour of the Colonies, instead of showing his sympathy for India, he should be regarded indeed as the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Instead of walking in the footsteps of his predecessors like Lord Morley and Lord Crew, who have all done good to India, this Chamberlain has exposed India to suffering, and allowing himself to be swayed by the influence of the Colonies, seeks to destroy the chastity of women. This is a most grievaous sin. This looks like one descerting his wife and children allured by the charms of a concubine.

Indentured labour and the Defence of India Act.

104. Referring to the modification of the Defence of India Act making it thereby applicable to emigrants from India, the Manorama, of the 16th March, says:- It is certainly a matter for joy that the agitation of the Indians against the system of indentured labour has at least produced such a result, be its object what it might; and it goes without saying that the changing of the law without further delay, so as to stop this system altogether, will gladden the hearts of Indians. While we hope that our Viceroy Lord Chelmsford will redress this grievance of the Indians by instantly bringing such a measure into force, we also offer our heartfelt thanks to His Excellency for his having done even this much.

Prohibition of Messrs. Pal and Tilak from entering the Punjab.

105. Referring to the order of prohibition issued by the Punjab Government to these two

persons against their entering that Province, the Vijayavikatan, of the 26th February, says:- We should not blame the Government for issuing such an order. As the present times are overwhelmingly serious, the authorities have to interfere in each and every trivial matter.

The Swadesamitran, of the 28th February, publishes what purports to be a translation of the proceedings of a public meeting held on the 27th idem in the Gokhale Hall under the presidency of Mr. A. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, to protest against the orders of prohibition issued to Mr. Pal and Mr. Tilak against their entering Delhi and the Punjab.

The Imperial Conference.

106. Referring to the three gentlemen going from India in connection with this conference, the Vijayavikatan, of the 26th February, observes:- There is no room for expecting that any good will be done to India by this conference. Though the persons going to London from here are ablemen, they cannot be said to possess the character and aim of Mr. Gokhale, who declined a title offered in person by His Majesty the King Emperor. We do not know whether Sir S.P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir are actuated by such views. The official authoriries in London possess the art of captivating men, and some people fear that the gentlemen going from here will be caught in the net of those persons. When even men like Babu Surendranath Bannerjee are deceived into a pleasing attitude when they go to London, is there any question of others being taken in? In fact, the Indians also will

speak in the conference, but the authorities will carry them off with their speeches and nothing will be done for the good of India. Therefore our friends should note beforehand that no good will be done to us by this Imperial Conference.

On this subject, the Desamata, of the 14th March, writes:- All our clamour has proved useless. It is said that Mr. Chamberlain will be the representative of our country in the Conference and that the Maharaja of Bikanir and Sir P. Sinha will sit in it as best men at a wedding, or as pleaders' gumastas; When any Indian affairs come up, it is said, that they may, if they have the will and the voice to do so, harangue. The while people that have come from the Colonies will sit serenely, and listen with pleasure to their eloquence; but, in the end, they will ascertain the opinion of the Secretary of State for India and decide accordingly. When, like our household deities, Mr. Chamberlain is the deity of our country, why should so large an amount be unnecessarily spent from the revenues of India, to our loss? Why should they be made to play their part as actors in the Conference hall? and why should they be troubled so much? Is all this sham but to wipe off our tears, saying that our country has also been granted representation--only in name--in that Conference? Can it have any other meaning? It would, perhaps, be well if Government should appoint an officer to acquaint people with the meaning of their acts.

Imperial Conference.

107. Referring to the order said to have been issued by the authorities of the Central Provinces

Students and politics.

to prohibit students from attending political meetings, the Vijayavikatan, of the 26th February, remarks as follows:- If in every direction the Indians are barred like this from advancing, how can they come forward at all? Already we have the Arms Act forbidding the use of arms. What harm could be done by the speeches of Indians who are unarmed. It is like this that the authorities have passed laws just as they pleased and marred the progress in all directions. Formerly, they opposed the swadesi movement by calling it sedition and disloyalty. The consequence of it is that we have now to pay three times the value for each article, and even at that rate some articles cannot be had at all, or, if available, they are of very inferior quality. We trust that the Chief Commissioner will take these facts into consideration, and withdraw his order against students.

110. Referring to the refusal by the Natal Municipality of grant license to an Indian merchant

Is there yet to be colour bar in South Africa?

of twenty years' standing for the purchase of a house in a certain street in that province for carrying on business, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd March, observes:- In these days of the great war when a variety of races in the different parts of the empire are fighting side by side for a common cause and some are saying that disgusting evils such as racial prejudices and colour distinction will be, or have already been, swept away,

How can we refrain from pointing out that these evils still prevail in Natal in South Africa? The reason assigned for the refusal of license is that the particular street referred to should be in the entire occupation of Europeans. It is said that, ie one Indian were given room init, other Asiatics would desire to come in and that serious consequences would ensue from it. Some days ago General Smuts praised the Indians for their heroism and valour. Does the recognition of these qualities consist in showing racial prejudices? De We cannot see how colour determines the question of superiority and inferiority. Can such distinction and prejudice hold in the twentieth century?

113. Referring to the classification of service in the Educational Department into two kinds, Provincial and Imperial, the Swadesamitran, of the 5th March, observes:- It is mostly Europeans that are largely appointed to the Imperial service, and the grade of salary attached to it is also high. It is rarely that Indians are admitted to it. On the other hand, the Provincial service is composed mostly of Indians. Such a difference in service prevails in spite of the fact that the Europeans in the Imperial service and the Indians in the Provincial service possess equal qualifications, efficiency and attainments; and in addition to the scale of salary being lower, the latter enjoy less facilities in other respects also. About five years ago, Mr. Gokhale referred, in the Imperial Legislative Council, to the superior attainments of Dr. Prabala Chandra Ray

Differentiation in Government service.

in Chemistry, and said that, in twenty years' service, the Professor had discovered many new things in that branch of knowledge, and his merits had been recognised by scientists in France and Germany, but that he still remained in the Provincial service while those who had come out fresh from their studies and had not acquired any reputation in their work, had been appointed to the Imperial service. Now Dr. Ray, of whom Mr. Gokhale spoke in such high praise, retires from the Provincial service only, without having been admitted to the Imperial service. The Bengalee urges that such a differentiation gives room for regret and for a sense of affliction from a political point of view and further observes that perhaps the Public Services Commission has taken us for such great fools as to be deceived by the mere change of names it has effected in recommending the substitution of these two kinds of service by those of the first grade and the second grade.

Report of Messrs. Marjoribanks and Ahmad Thambi Marakkayar.

117. The Swadesamitran, of the 7th March, makes the following remarks on the report submitted to the Government by Messrs. Marjoribanks and Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar on the condition of the voluntary coolies in the Ceylon and Malay plantations:- On a cursory glance of the report, we have no reason to think that the report will be of very great usefulness. The Commissioners have not taken down the evidence of the witnesses examined by them. They seem to have only inspected a few plantations at their own choice and ascertained certain things by making enquiries of the

authorities of these plantations and others. We do not see to what extent the report will be useful to the Government of India in replacing the indenture system by this with certain modifications. The report does not show that the Commissioners have obtained information of all the difficulties of the voluntary coolies. The Commissioners admit that the coolie is deceived by the kanganis, that he is taxed with more than the actual amount for the expenses of his voyage to the plantations, and that the system of giving "chits" makes him more and more indebted. The planters themselves admit this last-mentioned evil. Again, it does not transpire whether the rules framed for the disbursement of wages some years ago are really observed. It is stated that the wages should be paid into the hands of the coolies themselves, but according to the report of the Kabarakamuva Commission, it is mostly paid through the kanganis. The Commissioners state in their report that the wages of a coolie come to Rs.10 a month out of which he can make a saving of Rs.3. But the Commissioners do not seem to have taken into account the exigencies of illness and drink and money withheld for debts. The condition of the coolies will be clear from the report of the Commission to the effect that unless the coolie fled from one plantation to another, he cannot have money on hand for returning to India. It is stated that child mortality is 212 per 1,000 which the Commissioners ~~paid any attention~~ attribute to their lack of strength, etc. But it does not appear whether the Commissioners paid any attention to the question whether the mothers have the strength to suckle the children. The report, on the whole, seems to find in this system but the one defect of advancing money.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 8th March, publishes a leader on the same subject, the substance of which is as follows:- The report shows that the Commissioners did not go deep into the subject, but merely skimmed the surface in their inquiries. They seem to have regarded the tour of inspection as a pleasure trip and embodied in the report merely what was told them, without finding out for themselves whether it was all true. The Commissioners have expressed their satisfaction at the soundness of the rules relating to the conduct of the Indian coolies by the planters, without ascertaining whether the rules are observed in practice. It is not likely that these should be defective, and the Commissioners need not have gone all the way to the Colonies, but might well have sent for them from India, and made their examination of them. Indeed they do not seem to have gleaned more from their inquiries than that he coolies working in the plantations are in a high state of ignorance and that in consequence the kanganis deceive and dupe them. In the short period of their inquiry they could not have conversed with the coolies in such a way as to win their confidence, and learn from them particulars regarding their ~~inquiry they could not have conversed with the coolies in such a way as to win their confidence, and learn from~~ economic condition, the treatment they receive at the hands of the planters, the way in which they entangle themselves in the snares of kanganis, and suffer at their hands and the condition of their health. The Commissioners themselves admit that they endeavoured to ascertain from the coolies particulars regarding the general condition of their welfare, without

aiming at information on particular topics. It is admitted in the report that the coolies working in the Ceylon and Malay plantations are in a hepeless condition of indebtedness; but, while the complaint against rigorous punishments awarded to the coolies largely prevails, the Commissioners do not believe in the complaints made by the newspapers. It is to report on the truth of this of this that the Commissioners were sent to the Colonies. If they had written down in the report what they saw with their own eyes as well as what they had heard, and expressed their opinion upon these, their deputation to Ceylon and the Malay States might be said to have been fruitful. The report, on the whole, seems to set forth the facilities and conveniences that exist in these two Colonies for the Indian coolies, but contains nothing about their hardships there and suggestions for their redress. To find out the real condition of these coolies, it is necessary that another non-official Commission should be sent.

The Prapanchamitran, of the 9th March, remarks as follows on this report of Mr. Marjoribanks and Mr. Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar:- It is said that the report has not give much satisfaction to the public. The Commissions appointed by the Government to inquire into such matters should be acceptable to the people. The Government may, if they choose, nominate the Official Members of these Commissions; but the Indian non-officials that are to serve on them should be left to be elected by the people themselves. Then the people will be more highly pleased with the actions of the Government.

Referring to the opposition said to have been raised by all when the members of this Commission were nominated by the Government, the Lokopakari, of the 12th March, makes the following remarks:- The Commission appears, indeed, not to have discharged its duty well. They have not done anything for understanding the condition of the coolies. They seem to have merely enquired into the rules relating to the conduct of coolies, and toured round visiting places. They might as well have written their report by sending from their own place for the rules and regulations defining the duties of the planters, the official capacity of the kanganis and the nature of the work done by the coolies. In that case the salary and travelling allowance paid to the Commissioners, might have been saved. They have not brought to light any facts not already known regarding the condition of the coolies. They have stated that the coolies have no grievances, and are satisfied with the lives they lead. What a good report and what a good enquiry! If the Commissioners had sent for coolies separately and told them, "we have come to enquire into your grievances and the hardships to which you are subjected by the planters and kanganis; you may tell us about your grievances without fearing anyone," then the truth would have come out. But the Commissioners did not do so; nor did the Government afford all facilities for enquiry. If the Government had thought that regular enquiry was not to be made, they need not have appointed a Commission. The result was only waste of money. The difficulties of the coolies at the hands of the

The Marakkayar-Marjoribank's Commission.

kanganis and planters cannot fail to strike horror in everyone. Our patriots should urge on the Government the necessity for the appointment of another Commission. The Commissioners have said that the kanganis deceive the coolies because the latter are illiterate. The Government should, therefore, arrange to see that literate coolies alone are sent; and laws and regulations should be framed to prevent the coolies from being caught in the net of the wretched kanganis.

Popular rights in the Phillipine Islands and in India.

124. The Swadesamitran, of the 7th March, has a long leader under this head in which it draws a contrast between the popular rights enjoyed by India and by the Phlippines, and writes as follows:- It is about twenty years since those islands became subject to America, while India has been under the British rule for 150 years. A Bill has been passed in the A merican Parliament declaring its policy with regard to the Phillippines as being that the influence of the people in the administration as well as their rights should be continuuusly advanced with a view to hand it over to the people themselves in course of time and establish self-government. We will note here that the Executive Government of these islands have recommended to the American Government that the aforesaid views may be publicly announced, so that good feelings may be created between the rulers and the ruled, and the administration of the islands may be easy. In India, a resolution was passed by the Congress asking for a Royal

Declaration being made that t e principle underlying the British rule is only the granting of self-government to India. While America has voluntarily avovwed such a principle in the case of the Philippines in less than twenty years after their subjugation, it cannot be too much for our popular assemblies to hepe that India will soon became a self-governing country. In reply to a question raised in the Imperial Legislative Council some weeks ago regarding the prayer of the representatives for reforms in India after the war, the Government of India have barely stated that they have written to the Secretary of State for India on the subject. Everyone will be anxious to know whether the recommendations made by the Government of India in that despatch are as liberal as those of the Executive Government of the Phillippines. But in view of the statement made by Lord Chelmsford a month or two ago that the political advancement of the country can only be slow, we cannot be free from the apprehension that the recommendations may not be very liberal. Again we have been hearing from men like Lord Sydenham, Mr. Curtis and the editor of the London Times the remark unflinchingly made that the educated Indians do not represent the masses. But when a law has to be urgently made in connection with the administration of the country, the authorities have been wont to ask the educated Indians to accord their approval to it without raising any discussion in consideration of the emergency. Do the educated classes become the real representatives of the people for such a purpose only? In contrast to

this, the Governor-General of the Philippines says that it is only the representatives of the people who can well understand and express the needs of those they represent, and others cannot understand them so well. But is it not usual here for the higher authorities to say, when the feelings of the people on any question are pointed out to them, that the local officers report otherwise, thereby showing greater respect for these latter. Again, in the Philippines, whenthe members of the Legislative Council, all of them elected representatives, pressed for being given complete control over the State expenses, and the Executive Council was opposed to it, President Wilson reformed the Executive Council was opposed to it, President Wilson reformed the Executive Council gave the name of "Senate" to it, and laid down the rule that it should contain a majority of the people's representatives. The result is that the cleavage between the two bodies has been removed and the expenses of the Government have been reduced by 19 per cent. Now the wishes of the people of this country are that the items of revenues and charges of this country should be brought up for consideration in the Legislative Council and passed, and that the budget also should be considered and passed by this Council, Now, it cannot be stated that the people of the Philippines in any way possess greater capacity or skill thanthe Indians. The public opinion, therefore, is that there is no proper reason for the Indians not being given adequate influence and authority in the administration of the country when the people of the Philippines possess both.

126. A Muhammadan correspondent writes to the Swadesamitran of the 8th March:- The report of the Public Services Commission has stirred up strong feeling in the Indian races. We were made to understand that considerable encouragement was afforded to Muhammadans in the matter of education. According to the recommendations contained in the report, it is impossible for any class of people to appear for the competitive examination in England. The restrictions imposed look like the action of a person who, unwilling to give, shows the pregnant sheep. At the beginning of the war, the British Ministers and statesmen and journals were so struck with India's support and loyalty that they sang her praises, and stated that she should be given privileges liberally, and it is not fair that they should keep silent now. If others should enjoy the rights proper to the Indians in the country which belongs to them, how can they enjoy their own rights? Is it not because we have no independence that we are treated with contempt in South Africa and other Colonies, and prohibited by the American Government from settling there, as being Asiatics? If we had a responsible representative there to look after our in erests, he would have urged our claims. The question on hand is in itself one of the proofs that go to show how low we have fallen in the estimation of the world. Why should we not retaliate by prohibiting Americans from coming to India? If the liberties of a nation are thus entirely knocked down, it is not creditable to the morality of the world itself. We are not aware of any European nation which is putting

The rights of the Indians.

up with such an abject state of affairs. We trust we shall not expect in vain that, hereafter at least, our benign Government will recognise and guard our rights and liberties, considering how they have come forward to protect the independence of Belgium and other countries.

127. The trend of the war. In the course of a long leader under this heading, in which however reference is made to a variety of subjects, the Vijayavikatan, of the 14th March, contains the following disjointed statements:-

It is India that has furnished lakhs of troops and will continue to do so. All this should be noted by the executive officials in India. They should not think lightly of India, nor should they allow India to think lightly of them. Have any of the Colonies or other countries done as much help as India has done? The Englishmen should steadily confide in the Indians who have done so much of help and the Indians too should steadily confide in the Indians who have done so much of help and the Indians too should steadily confide in the Englishmen. If the two would have mutual confidence and join together, the enemies, who resemble the messengers of Yama, can be conquered. Otherwise it is difficult. The English statesman should understand this by experience.

The Military authorities in India are enlisting the Indians in the army, and they say that this is for the defence of India. It appears that the Indians are not given proper privileges and high positions in the force thus formed. This makes it appear that England has not

yet begun to repose confidence in India. Some Indians are also forming separate corps and they say that this is also for the defence of India and helping the Government. I like neither of thse ways. If these two will join together, and do the thing, it will be very good. The authorities have no confidence in the patriots of the country, and the latter ave have no confidence in the former. What is the use of these two forming army corps like this? It cannot be definitely asserted that anything done by these two without union will fructify.

The authorities are not able to ascertain which words are innocent and which faulty. They confuse all words to be the same. Each should realise that if there is dissension in the fort, it is a matter of gratification for the enemy.

The Indians should not commit any mischievous act merely because some executive officials give trouble. Whatever the officials may do, the people should put up with it, do everything in their power sinceerely and then get what they want from the authorities by troubling them.

All should forget their heartburning and join the war without fail, and drive the enemy out. England should see this and praise India. She would then herself grant swaraj.

The Lahore conspiracy case shows that it was India which gave the first impetus to the present German war. To suit this, a German Consul has stated in a speech delivered by him last week that they would continue to fight until India and Ireland obtained swaraj. There

is evidently some insinuation in this. We do not know if there is any substratum of truth underlying this statement, or if it is merely a ruse played to gain over the Indians and the Irishmen. Why should Germany say all this and continue the fight? What loss will she sustain by India or Ireland acquiring swaraj?

If Mr. Wilson had entered the war and conducted it resolutely, Germany should have sought for peace of her own accord by this time. The world is saying that, if America joins any side, peace will be declared that very day!

128. The Vijayavikatan, of the 14th March, publishes some verses describing the demand of the Vikatan for the privilege of carrying arms for the Indians which he thinks they are entitled to by their valour and loyalty, and concludes them with the King-Emperor giving the reply that he had no objection to give arms, which would however be a little blunt, and that he and others should therefore accept them and do their work.

Arms for the Indians.

130. Referring to the resolution of the Government of India prohibiting the emigration of Indian coolies from this country except under special license in view to keeping a sufficient number of them in reserve, in connection with the war, the Hindu Nesan, of the 14th March, observes as follows:- Though the law relating to indentured coolies has not been

Emigration of coolies and the war.

repealed in spite of the great clamour now being raised for it, the result of its removal is equally welcome, even if it should be brought about in other ways. We are glad, indeed, that the emigration of Indian coolies from this country is prohibited in pursuance of one of the rules under the Defence of India Act. We will look forward to the repeal of the law relating to the indenture system while this rule continues to be in force.

Emigration of coolies and the war.

The Swadesamitran, of the 13th March, writes on this subject very much in the same strain as the Hindu Nesan, of the 14th March, and hopes that the indenture system will be abolished before the present order prohibiting the emigration of coolies on account of the war is relaxed.

135. The following appears in the Prapanchamitran, of the 16th March:-

Stray notes by Narada.

The moment I put pen to paper, the Press Act stands before me; also, what our Viceroy told recently to the representatives of the Press in respect of that Act. In my present task of writing, I have to fear the Government, the Press, Act, the proprietor of the press, the Editor of the paper, the Police both secret and public, the social reformers and the orthodox people. Alas! you might ask why I should write in spite of all this fear; but what can I do, since that is my lot and my nature. I will therefore roll in my tail and write slowly little by little. The Viceroy's reply to the press representatives will give

satisfaction to no one. But it is only what I already anticipated. Therefore I am not moved by it in any way. Though I have undertaken the sole task of detecting the defects and follies in the actions of the Government, I am sometimes wont to assume the position of the authorities in my imagination, and then their actions seem to me to be only right. However, the Viceroy's reply regarding the Press Act does not appear to be proper. Though it is necessary to gag the disloyal papers, it will be a source of hindrance to the advancement of the paper and the progress of the people to gag all papers uniformly and for all times. If the Viceroy had considered this matter with some pity in his heart, it would have been very well. But in so far as there is a God to guide all actions, everything will take place only as H wills, and not as the Indians or the Government think that things are done, or wish them done.

The stray notes of Narada.

After publishing the stray notes of Narada in the issue of the Prapanchamitran, of the 16th March, the editor adds a note that, as the writings of Narada are such as to give room to mischief and alarm, he does not expect him to continue his contribution henceforward.

Home Rule.

144. Referring to the words of Sir Birkmyre, President of the thirty-third annual meeting of the Calcutta European Association that Home Rule for India would be fatal, because they have invested 750 crores of rupees in India, the Andhrapatrika, of the 15th March, asks if the British have not invested their

money in Canada, Australia, Turkey, etc., and if those investments have been jeopardised.

145. The Andhrapatrika, of the 16th March, says:-

Our political outlook.

India, no doubt, has been benefited by her connection with England, and the British Isles also derived many an advantage from India. But it is not in the nature of things that the English should govern the thirty crores of Indians from a distance of 6,000 miles. Swaraj has been established in the British Colonies. Swaraj is the natural form ofGovernment and Government by foreigners is the unnatural form, in every country in the world. There is nothing unnatural in the Indians praying for the establishment of something natural for all countries. They have been praying for this birth-right for thirty years past. . . . . It is audacious on the part of Dr. Nair to say that three thousand officers will safeguard the interests of twenty-five crores of people better than the twenty-five crores of people themselves and their leaders. It is widely known that the reconstruction of the Empire after the war is the reason why Indians agitate for swaraj. When the Imperial Parliament is established, it should contain representatives of India. It is a wrong policy that the Colonies should exercise authority over Indian affairs and that India should have no such authority over the Colonies. . . . . .An enlargement of the Legislative Councils and the grant of separate representation to separate communities will satisfy Dr. Nair. It is known everywhere what benefits have been

derived from Minto-Morley reforms. The leaders ask for swaraj not for any selfish purposes but in order that the reforms may be of use. The swaraj that they ask for is self-government within the British Empire, and not a separate status.

146. The Andhrapatrika of the 16th March says:- It has been the practice of all provincial Governments in India to show an attitude of disregard to papers which in an unselfish way serve the country and its people, and to show regard to papers that selfishly side with the authorities. It is the duty of the rulers to treat all papers alike, and it is unfair to reat some with regard and the rest with disregard. The situation of vernacular newspapers is thus unbearable.

Newspapers.

The paper then gives instances of Governments in India patronising newspapers by helping them with money, and proceeds.

The rulers have to ascertain if any good is derived by spending public money on papers. Those who are in touch with public opinion know that it is an illusion on the part of the authorities to suppose that those papers promote loyalty and put down sedition. The authorities will derive benefit from papers that write impartially, and not from papers that write to please them, receiving money. The rulers in all provinces should know this secret.

It was not proper on the part of the Governments of Madras and Bombay to reject questions put in this connection in the Legislative Councils. When asked what amount the Madras Government spent on newspapers, the Hon'ble Sir Alexander Cardew replied that notice should have been given about this, and that if necessary an answer will be given in the next meeting. It does not become the British Government to spend money secretly and refuse to reveal it. To keep this matter secret gives rise to surmises. It is to be regretted that the rulers help pecuniarily those papers that praise them and not extend even ordinary help to those that do not praise them. They hardly send to papers that work without expecting a return, even their reports for publication. They disregard the requests of papers having having thousands of subscribers, while they give every help to papers that came into being yesterday or the day before. They help some papers with money. All this shows their partiality. It is their duty to send to all papers alike their publications the republication of which is found necessary for the conduct of the papers. The partiality of the rulers reduces the usefulness of the papers and makes their management difficult. We hope that Lord Pentland will issue orders instructing the officers to look upon all papers alike. It is by means of regard and not disregard that loyalty is instilled in newspapers.

149. In a long leader on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 10th March, observes:- In the matter

India's contribution to the war.

of the gift of one thousand lakhs of pounds which the Government of India have resolved to make to the British Government in connection with the war, certain important questions arise, viz., (1) What is the extent of the help rendered by India till now? (2) To what extent can it help further (3) What is the principle under which help can be so rendered, and (4) What provision is there in the existing rule relating to the constitution of the Government for rendering this particular help? With regard to the first of these, there is none who is not aware of the extent of the help already rendered by India. If it be asked whether there is any necessity for rendering further help, India (which is a part of the empire) should render all possible help in bringing, to speedy close, this great war, which affects the empire as a whole. It is well known how the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya brought a resolution to the effect that such a large contribution was too heavy for India in its present economic condition. But the representatives of the people took into consideration the necessity, urgency and pressure of the present moment, and deemed it wise to approve of the gift when it had been resolved upon. But it would have been a source of pride to all, if the Government had taken the representatives into consultation in resolving upon this gift. Again, it is not stated that this amount is paid for meeting the expenses of the Indian

troops fighting outside India. It has been indicated to be intended to meet in a way the general expenses of the war incurred by the British Government. It cannot be said that the Indian Constitutional Law, as it now stands, gives room for incurring debts in India or utilizing its revenues for the sake of relieving the British Government of any portion of their debts or paying them money. It appears to us that the Parliament will have to modify the law relating to the Government of India agreeably to the resolution of making this gift. This subject, however, has already found mention in the Parliament; for, a Manchester cloth merchant asked the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons, whether, in return for the contemplated raising of the import duty on cotton goods to double the extent, the omission to impose a counter-tax on the inland cotton goods to the same extent will not be opposed to the binding that exists between the Governments of India and Britain? In replying to this question, the Secretary of State for India requested that objections would not be raised on this subject, that the measure was taken to enable India to render the help which it wished to do, that the Indians were unanimously opposed to the imposition of an inland counter-tax, that he believed that the gift of one thousand lakhs of pounds was made by the Indians with one accord, and that if the counter-tax was imposed it would be impossible to obtain the gift. We do not understand the meaning of this. This implies an understanding that has been come to as the result of a discussion by correspondence, between the Governments of India and Britain. It has further to be supposed that the British

Government must have been anxious and at great pains to secure the gift, and that, seeing how the Secretary of State for India has requested that the long standing objection to the raising of the import duty on cotton goods in India should be dropped, several other discussions of a confidential nature, must have taken place.

156. The Andhraprakasika, of the 17th March, says:-

Import duties ~~on piecegoods.~~ ~~When Lord Hamilton was the Secretary of~~

The 150 crores of rupees which the Government of India have agreed to pay to the war may appear a small sum to the rich men in England; but it is a very huge sum to the Indians who are living from hand to mouth. God only knows what pains the Government of India are taking to render this help. It is deemed that it will take 30 years to pay back the war loan and that during that period the Government will be unable to carry out reforms conducive to the advancement of the country. . . . . . . Referring to the additional import duties on piecegoods the Lancashire merchants say that the enhancement of the duties will stand in the way of the help that they render towards the war. Does this not imply a threat on their part that they will not contribute to the expenses of the war? Can our countrymen say so? Will the authorities, keep quiet if they say so? When the Indians have willingly agreed to pay many crores of rupees, it is not proper on the part of the Lancashire merchants to show this little-

mindedness. It is not honourable that great men like Mr. Asquith should support them. When it is proposed to do even a pin's head of good to India, all the parties in England join together and take the cudgel. We have been observing this evil practice for long, and we do not know when it will see its end. Mr. Chamberlain adduced certain facts to show that it was not right on the part of the English merchants to have all the ~~points~~ profits to themselvrs. But his words had no effect on them. Mr. Asquith brought forward an amendment that the matter would be reconsidered after the war. The Government accepted the amendment. The proceedings of the Parliament may be compared to the serving of rich food on a plate and spitting in one corner of it, or to the burning of the boat after the river has been ~~cor~~ crossed. How can our mill-owners lay out their capital on textile factories relying upon this temporary advantage? If the import duties are abolished after the war the indigenous textile fabrics cannot compete with the foreign ones, and our factories will therefore fail. We have, therefore, no hope that our trade in ~~di~~ indigenous piecegoods will thrive. It unfortunately happens that a small thing is granted in order to take away a big thing. We submit that the British Government will think deeply about this matter, afford us some facilities, and protect indigenous industries.

Import duties on cotton goods.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 15th March, says:- We must know clearly that the Lancashire members in the Parliament will move heaven and earth so long as the new import duties on cotton goods are not cancelled. We

feel grateful to Mr. Chamberlain that at least once he spoke firmly on behalf of India, he asked it at least this kindness should not be shown to India in return for the 150 crores of rupees given by her. But the Indians did not give this sum for receiving anything in return. India has done her duty and asks England to do hers. Can Mr. Runciman say if it is just, fair, wise and statesmanlike to impose excise duties on Indian mills for the sake of Lancashire merchants. For many years past, influential men of Lancashire in the Parliament have imposed restrictions on Indian trade just as they pleased. It is not love for the empire that they are standing in the way of the Government trying to remove the injustice done by them.. . . . .
The Lancashire members and the advocates of free trade will in future certainly oppose Mr. Chamberlain, but we should not allow the Manchester machinations to go on unopposed. If we let slip this opportunity, we cannot get rid of Government by Manchester. If Lancashire which is obstructing the advancement of our country succeeds, our doom is sealed. We hope that the British Ministers will not allow the tricks played by Lancashire to go on unopposed.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 17th March, says:- In

Import duties on piecegoods.

the House of Commons, when the question of additional import duties on piecegoods was discussed, the majority of votes having been unfavourable to

Lancashire, she did not succeed. But it should not be deemed that Lancashire will keep quiet here. We should know that she would try every device to repeat the old wrong to India, and must see that she does not succeed. The Indians and the Government of India should tell the Government in England that the wretched Lancashire competition should be stopped if India's own industries should develop and the Indians should have enough to eat, that is just to impose duties on Lancashire piecegoods and that if these duties are cancelled, India will be convulsed with indignation and unrest. For many years past Lancashire has been killing the cotton goods trade in India by her strong competiton, now she says to the Secretary of State that she is fighting for justice. It is ridiculous that those who have been deriving profits from injustice done to others for many years, should, from fear of reduction in their profits, invoke justice and truth to their aid.

The Andhrapaakasika, of the 14th March, says:-

Import duties on piecegoods.

When Lord Hamilton was the Secretary of State, the English piecegoods merchants requested him to see that their in erests did not suffer. As he was partial to the merchants of his own country, he directed the Government of India to impose duties on cloths made in Indian waving factories. The Indians unanimously protested against the order of Lord Hamilton. The Government of Lord Elgin also said that the people were

just in so protesting. But what is the use. The arbitrary order of Lord Hamilton had to be obeyed and put into effect, and the "Cotton Excise" duties were imposed. Indigenous cloths also became as dear as foreign ones. The English merchants were satisfied; our country-men had no choice, but to resign themselves to fate after having cried hoarse. . . . . .We are grateful to Mr. Chamberlain for the answer that he gave to Mr. Runciman who obstinately objected to the increase in the import duties.

157. The Andhraprakasika, of the 17th March, says:-

Ceylon Labour Laws.

The Labour Laws of Ceylon are really messengers of death to our coolies, and are a source of great profit to the planters. . . . . The committee appointed to consider them do not appear to have enquired into the grievances of our countrymen in that island and about the cruel nature of the laws. We read in our papers strange stories about the hardships of our coolies. But such stories we don't find in the report of the committee. However small the coolie's fault may be he is subjected to cruel punishment. The laws are such and what can the authorities executing the laws do? When the committee appointed on behalf of our Government could not open their mouths about the cruelties of these Acts, nobody can say anything.

The paper then refers to a case in which a labourer was awarded three punishments for one offence and says:-

O! rulers, do you see the cruelties of the Labour Laws of Ceylon? To ~~the~~ tie the hands behind theback on to a tree is the first; to withhold rice batta is the second; rigorous imprisonment is the third. Three punishments for one fault. The fault is that the man punished went home to see his wife and his sister without permission, permission to do so having been refused by the hardhearted chief kangani. For this fault three punishments! We do not know how many more punishments are awareded for greater offences. Who enquires into these cruelties and free our coolies from their troubles. The people feel hopeless in this matter. It is wrong to complain about this during the war. The rulers have no time to enquire into this matter at once. The time has not as yet arrived for our coolies to be emancipated. We find some gratification in that the indenture system has been abolished after this article has been written.

The relation between the Government of England and the Government of India.

159. The Andhrapatrika, of the 19th March, contains a report of the proceedings of the meeting held in the Gokhale Hall on Friday last on this subject, in which it says:-. . . . . .Mr. Govindaraghava Ayyar stated: "In these days the representations of the non-official members are only nominal and no good comes out of them. . . . . Not even in one case are the words of the people followed and changes introduced in the Empire. . . . .

The Lancashire merchants said that if the proposal to levy additional import~~s~~ duties on piece goods is not cancelled, they would not contribute towards the expenses of the war. The Government in England were not incensed and did not punish them for this contemptuous conduct towards the authorities. If we should endeavour to hold meetings in India to protest against new taxes, many an obstable would be thrown in the way. Why is this partiality?" . . . . .The speaker thus dwelt on the injustice done to us and said that after the war we should secure such rights as the management by ourselves of our finances, etc. Mrs. Besant said that unless those who desire self-government for India boldly and without fear fight with the British Government and politely represent their grievances, they will not have their object accomplished. She held forth the example of the Lancashire merchants and exhorted the Indians to represent to the Government the defects in the administration and gain their object.

Postwar reforms.

160. Under this heading the Andhrapatrika, of the 19th March, refers to a meeting held in the Gokhale Hall on Saturday and remarks:- The carrying out of the reforms suggested in the memorandum of the nineteen, and those suggested by the Congress and the Moslem League, will be found necessary for the establishment of self-government in India. It is plain from a perusal of the proceedings of the Legislative Councils that the Indians have no power to frame the budget.

When the Financial Secretary decided to give Rs.150 crores for the war, he did not even consult the members of the Legislative Council. In the last meeting of the supreme Legislative Council, not even one resolution of the non-official members was accepted. In the last meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, out of 30 resolutions moved 25 were withdrawn and 5 rejected. . . . . .Whether the reforms intended to be introduced by the Government are small or great, it will be advantageous to consult the people. . . . . That we should be governed by the Colonists who prevent our entrance into their country and that we should have no vice in Imperial matters, would be a source of great agitation and unrest. To avoid subjecting India to such a miserable plight, our leaders should request His Excellency the Viceroy and the authorities in England to look upon all the countries included in the Empire with the same eye. . . . . .This is an age of representative Government and not of arbitrary Government, and the British are for the former. India with its ancient civilisation is fit for self-government May the rulers grant the prayers of the citizens of Madras!

Under the same heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 19th March, refers to the proceedings of the public meeting held in the Gokhale Hall on Saturday, and reports the Hon'ble Mr. T. Rangachariar to have said that the

reforms suggested in the memorandum of the nineteen and those suggested by the Congress and the All-India Moslem League formed only a fraction of what the authorities ought to grant, and that if the Government failed to amend the laws of India on the lines indicated in the memorandum, they would be doing an injustice to India. It reports the Hon'ble Mr. Ramachandra Rao to have said that the authorities in England did not duly admonish the English officers who governed India as they pleased, and that therefore the administration of India should be left to the Indians.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 31ST MARCH 1917.

No.13 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(b) Courts.

3. The Malabar Herald, for the week ending 24th March, has the following:-

New India security case.

"Mrs. Besant has been discomforted in her recent attempt to get permission from the Madras High Court to lodge an appeal in the Privy Council against its judgment dismissing her appeal against the order of Government forfeiting Rs.2,000 deposited as security by her as Printer and Publisher of the New India Printing Works. An application made by her vakil before the Madras High Court for permission to appeal against their judgment has been rejected. When the case was finally disposed of against her it was fondly hoped by Mrs. Besant and her admirers that the High Court judgment would be smashed by an appeal to the Privy Council. This hope has now been shattered to pieces and the refusal of permission would, we t ink, serve as a sufficient warning against the repetition of what led to the forfeiture of the deposit."

(h) Railways.

10. The Indian Patriot, of the 27th March, states:-

Racial distinction.

"It is unfortunate that every now and then racial differences should be emphasised in a manner that unsettles the most peaceful mind. Nothing stirs the mind of a self-respecting man or woman more than that he or she should be treated as an inferior being. . . . . India is for Indians, and it is well that those in authoity realise it and not be carried away by the impression that British India is for the British. An unfortunate tendency in the North-Western Railway towards economy has given a shock to the Indian mind, because, in the name of economy, only the much-neglected Indian passenger is to suffer. The dining car for Indians was procured after persistent representations, and long after the European dining car was a reality. But war economy in the Punjab railways has taken away the Indian car, leaving the European car as it is. Indians from the larger section of the passengers but they are to be ignored; the handful of European first or second class passengers could not be in the least inconvenienced. Again, the public have heard with disgust that the rest-house for Indians at Rawalpindi station is to be discontinued; the rest-house for Europeans stands as it is. A long history of representation and agitation is behind the rest-house for Indians; it was put up with reluctance but is discontinued with alacrity. And yet Indians form

the majority of the passengers, and being poor, are more in need of being looked after. Instances like these are really revolting to the mind of the citizen who have to really make an effort to erase these from his ~~has~~ mind and concentrate on War Loans or recruitment for the Defence of India Force."

(k) General.

12. The South Indian Mail, for the week ending 19th March, observes:-

The prohibition of emigration.

"After all the Defence of India Act has been used to a good purpose by His Excellency the Viceroy for which our thanks are due. His Excellency under the Act has prohibited the emigration of hired labourers from India. Even though in the wording of the prohibition order of the Government nothing is mentioned about the indentured labour, the order indirectly puts an end to the obnoxious system. We are glad that India's unanimous voice has been recognised by His Excellency though in an indirect way."

21. Writing under the heading "Equal partnership" New India, of the 24th March, says:-

India and the empire.

"Sir P.S. Sivaswami Ayyar takes advantage of his freedom from official fetters to speak out his mind freely. At the war loan meeting last evening he based his plea for investments in the war loan on the fact that 'we, in India, have been recently pressing and pleading for the

recognition of India to a position of equal partnership in the empire.' Therefore we must share the burden with the other partners. It is a sound argument. But we are not yet accepted as a partner, while the others have been promised partnership. Shall we be allowed only to share the burden? That is the doubt gnawing at every Indian heart."

27. The Indian Patriot, of the 27th March, remarks:-

Mr. Justice Abdur Rahman's minute of dissent.

"It has become quite the fashion of some Anglo-Indian publicists--unfortunately of some Indian publicists also, who have developed a new caste angle of vision--to abuse the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Abdur Rahman for the very able minute of dissent, where he has expressed courageously the aspirations of 'New India'. . . . . .The Pioneer has been working itself to a height of passion during the last few days and emits columns of nauseating abuse of the author of the note of dissent. The attack on Mr. Justice Abdur Rahman must, we think, enhance its reputation as the unrelenting foe of Indian aspirations. Neither the position nor the influence of Mr. Abdur Rahman counts with the superior Anglo-Indian paper which is circling his feet with sky-renting yells: 'We suspect' it writes in the course of an article, 'that Mr. Abdur Rahman detained enough of the habits of advocacy to know how to drop a principle when it begins to be embarrassing'. . . . . .They are annoyed with us when we say what we want, and when they have no arguments, begin to abuse with absolute violence and indecency. The Pioneer would pretent to know a great deal, and affect

to ignore Mr. Abdur Rahman's proposals as preposterous by the simple observation: 'It is all to the good that such flabby political thinking should be given seriously to the world for the British public to judge of it' This is no answer to Indians and those who know India. This may perhaps be an answer to those who look to the Pioneer for information on India. Journalistic feats like these cast a gloom over India. 'What can we expect from people who either do not understand or are incapable of understanding the aspirations of a growing people?' The greatest harm is done by such writings. They chill the Indian mind. But these people do not care for the enthusiasm of the educated classes and are prepared to ignore them. They do not care for the politicians. Are they not here to protect the masses from the people?"

31. The Indian Patriot, of the 28th March, writes:-

The Indian Press Act.

"These statements placed on the Council table on the working of the Indian Press Act throws a lurid light on the present situation, and what was described by Lord Chelmsford as a very encouraging picture strikes us as the most gloomy. . . . . The application for starting a press is transmitted to the Criminal Investigation Department by the Magistrate, and he has to carry out the mandate of the Police. If 'security must be demanded' is the endorsement of the Police, the Magistrate must demand it. We do not know what the Police found against the hundreds of applicants to keep presses, but the fact remains that they were snuffed out of existence. . . . .

The Press Act interferes with the development of printing and publishing. This is a seandal to civilisation. By all means warn the wrong-doer, and if he will not heed to the warning, book him under the security section, forfeit his security and demand fresh security. But unknown and unexplained, do not surprise the applicant to keep a press with the question: 'Have you brought security? If you cannot, you may go, You cannot keep a press' This is positive injustice and a crying scancal. . . . . .The warnings, as a precaution, are valueless; and this, combined with the arbitrary demand of security on keepers of printing presses or publishers of newspapers at the first registration, without any reason being assigned, proves every point that was urged before Lord Chelmsford by the Press Deputation. We are surprised that the Viceroy, with these figures before him, should have characterised the Act as harmless. The Act is being utilised at once as a shield and sword by the executive. It is the serpent in the grass that bites to death. It is a scandal to civilization, an obstacle to progress, and one way for Indians to show that they deserve self-government is to persist in protesting against this Act in spite of the indignant outbursts of Lord Chelmsford."

33. Mrs. Annie Besant, in a leader on this subject, says in New India, of the 29th March:- "The conditions and method of enlistment are now published, and fully bear out the statements made by the Commander-in-Chief in his speech in the Supreme Legislative Council

The Indian Defence Force.

that were welcomed so warmly by our representatives. The statements of some highly placed persons, that spoilt the recruiting in the Presidency and Christian Colleges and caused anxiety everywhere, are now shown to be mistaken; we continued our recruiting in spite of them, and have enrolled between 1,300 and 1,400 names. . . . . The opportunity is one that should be eage ly grasped by Indian young men, though it will, of course, entail a certain amount of hardship for many who are fairly well off. But a young man who w ll not face three months of hard and disciplined living is quite useless to the Motherland, whereas, when he comes back from his three months, he will be twice the man he was before. It is a splendid opportunity of realising Swami Vivekananda's prayer: 'God, make me a man'. . . . . .There remains, in the minds of many, an uneasy feeling about the Indian Army Act, which includes flogging among its punishments. It is a disgraceful thing that this should not have been removed in India when it was removed in England, but there it is. But it is only inflicted for offences--outside active service in time of war--th t no gentleman could commit, such as theft of Government or military property, or any civil offence punishable by whipping under British Indian law. . . . . .Recruits need not, therefore, trouble themselves about the matter, for they will all be educated men, above disgraceful crimes.

"The time has now come for our young men to show whether their patriotism has any depth or reality, or

whether their professed love for the motherland is only a sham. Only 1,000 men are wanted from the whole of the Madras Presidency, and those who wish to be among this fortunate 1,000 should apply at once."

34. The Indian Patriot, of the 29th March, writes:-

The Pioneer and Indian Politicians.

"On the whole the Pioneer is satisfied with the behaviour of the Indian members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. 'You have done well, good boys, and see to it that you behave likewise.' . . . . Immersed in its own impertinence, the Pioneer preaches a sermon on the Legislative Council and its uses. Indian politicians, we have no doubt, will be relieved at the memorable pronouncement of the Pioneer that it is 'not among those who affect to believe that no useful purpose is served by the debates in this assembly. . . . . .Every Indian member has, it is now discovered at last, the opportunity of placing his views directly before the Government, and Government is bound to give his case a fair hearing. 'Legitimate grievances may accordingly be redressed while unfair and unjust criticisms of British administration can be met and refuted. In this way Indian public men acquire a sense of responsibility.' We are amused at this display of superior knowledge and gracious condescension of the organ of Anglo-India. Some of those in the Imperial Council today are not there to acquire a sense of responsibility as the Pioneer believes, but to teach the Britishers that art of

governing India. Of course the Pioneer will not believe it and may laught at it, but if the late Sir Pherozesha Mehta had been put in charge of the War Department or the late Mr. Gokhale in charge of the Foreign Department, each one of them would have changed the course of this European war to the advantage of Great Britain. It is an insult to the people of India to say that they are to learn in the Council to responsibily associate themselves with those who run the Government. They are there to teach the Government."

Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

Views of a European on the rights of the Indians.

81. Referring to the speech delivered by the Hon'ble Sir A. Birchmire when he presided over the annual meeting of the European Association at Calcutta recently, the Swadesamitran, of the 15th March, writes:- The views expressed by him regarding the rights of the Indians are curious and ludicruous. It is said that if the self-government known as Home Rule is given to the Indians now, it will prove a great danger. We might ignore it by supposing that he holds a different view in his narrow-mindedness. But what are we to think of his statement that, when about 50 crores of pounds belonging to the Europeans are invested in this country in various concerns, it will not be proper to grant any privileges to India in administrative affairs

inopportunely and unwisely. It is a wonder of wonders that he should have stated it to be the duty of this association to safeguard the properties and rights pertaining to that capital amount from being affected by the grant of privileges. Will that money be lost if the Indians obtained political rights? Are we to take it that it will be a security for the safety of that amount if the rights of the Indians are not given to them? Or are the Europeans under the impression that their community alone should wield influence as a guarantee for their investment? We should only suppose that those Europeans who speak often "We have invested money" and those that commit themselves to unwitting statements, do not care for the welfare of the empire. Again, he says that it would be profitable if all the Indian political leaders gave up political agitation, and evinced interest in the matter of the war-loan. But we do not understand why he himself should interfere in Indian politics in such a way as to cause disgust to all. What shall we say of his speaking without forethought to the effect that because the many wise and respectable Indians keep aloof from politics, certain Indian political agitators who are not recognised as representatives by their people themselves, raise a loud cry, that this cry reaches England, that such should not be regarded as representatives of Indians and that it is under contemplation to start a European Association in England for silencing the cry by pointing out that there are in India Englishmen holding moderate

views and possessing a good knowledge of the condition of affairs. If such a branch of the European Association should be started with the narrow views given expression to by him, none will think that it will succeed.

Lord Carmichael's reply to the representative members of his Council.

84. Commenting on this reply, the Swadesamitran, of the 16th March, writes:- This cannot give satisfaction to our people. His explanation amounted to saying, "I believe the evidence of the police against the suspects; you should also do so." We do not think that either the Indian papers or the Indian leaders have ever denied the existence of disloyal bands in Bengal. Our question is whether all those that are now interned are guilty. Lord Carmichael says, "Yes," and adduces several reasons for it. Many of these are said to have admitted their guilt. If a man admitted his guilt, he must have done to either under coercion, or by turning honest seized by sudden remorse. In the former case, the Court does not respect such an admission. Again, when a person is filled with remorse, and becomes honest, there is no need to intern him. Others are said to have been interned on the evidence of their associates. Are the associates honest men? Could they not have implicated others to save themselves? It is stated, however, that guns and cartridges were found in the spots specified by these associates. But we have sometimes heard of things being secreted in the houses of people, so that they may be implicated in some crime. We have read of instances in which nothing was found in the first search that was

made, but certain things were found in the second search. It is stated that even without the support of such things having been found, 161 persons are interned on the mere evidence of their associates. Again 195 persons are said to have been interned on the evidence of "Informers" to the police. These men eke out their livelihood by giving information to the police; and it is rare for courts to attach importance to the evidence of these people or to the articles they file as exhibits. Can Lord Carmichael say that he believes such evidence and desire us to believe it? If the Bengal Government had entire confidence in it why should they not conduct proceedings against those concerned in courts, and bring them to book on the strength of this evidence? We do not say that all the 800 persons now interned are free from guilt. But we cannot believe that all of them without a single exception are guilty. When admitted that this evidence was not conclusive enough for courts. Why! Is it right to deprive citizens of their rights on an evidence not sufficient for a Court? Can Lord Carmichael say that the ways of the Secret Police, who are at the bottom of these proceedings, are faultless? How often have not Courts, and Judges condemned the ways of the Police? Many held the faith that Lord Carmichael had the strength of mind to reform the methods of the Police authorities; but he seems indeed to have fallen under their influence. The latter part of his reply contains an advice which, as received by wire, is not clear enough for us to understand what he means at all. He says that we should let the Colonies

consider our wishes; and the reasons he gives in support of this are wonderful. He says that he learnt while in Australia alone, that the Australians loved England. But it does not transpire whether they love India also, which looks up to England for support? Lord Carmichael says that India's needs are many, and that they can be secured by the help of the English; and that is the belief of the Indians too. But may God help us so that the Colonies may noe to exercise joint control over us and the wishes of the party of Mr. Curtis may not be realized.

87. Referring to the protest made by the Lancashire

Import duty on cotton piecegoods.

merchants against the raising of the import duty on cotton piecegoods in India, the Swadesamitran, of the 16th March, observes as follows:- Whatever the nature of the rights and the condition of commerce of India, the selfish idea of these merchants is that their interests should not be affected. When they desire that there should be no obstacle to their trade in India, they do not ~~desire that there should be no obstacle to their trade i~~ understand how the Indians who live in India, wish that their commerce should expand, and none should stand in its way, and have been pleading for this for a long time. This need not cause us any wonder, for this is due to the arrangement which they have been enjoying till now.

92. In the course of a leader under this heading, the

Home Rule and so-called Indians.

Tamilian, of the 28th February, has a tirade upon the people of the higher caste in India, who, it says, cruelly destroyed everything having a

Buddhistic touch and treated the Buddhists as untouchables, and adds that the argument of these people that, if swaraj were granted, every grievance in this country would disappear, is not at all tenable.

India's gift for the war.

97. Referring to the offer of Rs.150 crores made by the Government of India to the British Government, the Yadartavachani, of the 5th March, speaks with pride and pleasure of the help till now rendered by India to Britain in connection with the war in the shape of men and money, and the general satisfaction prevailing in the country over the present gift. It also speaks with satisfaction of the tax now imposed on account of the war affecting only the rich, contrary to the usual circumstance of all taxes in India having to be borne by the poor.

The Parliament and the Government of India.

100. Referring to the discussion that took place in the Parliament recently on granting permission to the Government of India to pay Rs.150 crores for the expenses of the war from their revenues, the Swadesamitran, of the 17th March, makes the following observations:- The Government of India took upon themselves the duty of the Indians without consulting them and sought to attain the credit of having made a free gift themselves; but the arrangements they made in respect of it seem likely to be modified. Last year on account of the pressure of war and the increased expenses of the Government of India through it, they attempted to impose new taxes and thereby sought to meet the pressure.

Then they thought that they might easily raise the import duty on cloth without a corresponding enhancement of the duty on the local production, and applied for the permission of the Secretary of State for India therefor. The Hon'ble Sir Willian Meyer stated in announcing the result of this attempt, when the military and economic services rendered by India during this Great War shall be considered after it, the British Government wish to take up the question of the import duty on cotton piece-goods and the counter-duty on the inland production. The British Government have realized the attention and interest bestowed by the Indians on that duty. The Government of India, therefore, are unable to effect any change in respect of this duty.

For such a disposal of the question the then Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, was greatly responsible. We must now necessarily note the understanding come to then to the effect that this question should be considered when the Indian Military and other services are finally determind. It is, therefore, a matter for great surprise that Mr. Asquith, after having himself accorded permission to India for giving this amount, should have moved a resolution and had it passed to the effect that the Parliament should, after the war, consider the question of removing the enhancement of this duty. Mr. Asquith stated, even when there was no mention at all of this amount being taken from India, that a discussion likely to cause agitation should not be held in this time of war; we do not therefore understand under what administrative principle he asks, after accepting this amount as a loan, that the arrangements made by the Government of India in respect of duty on cloth, with a view to the permanent payment

of interest therefor, should be brought up for reconsideration. Mr. Chamberlain has pointed out with great zeal and out of consideration for the welfare of the Government of the country over which he exercises control, the necessity for the imposition of this duty and the justice of a counter-duty not being imposed. That Mr. Asquith's resolution should have been passed in spite of its being thus urged against by the Secretary of State for India, is such as to cause great distress and disappointment to the Indians. If this duty has to be again brought up for consideration later, should not the gift of Rs.150 crores on which that question is based, be also reconsidered? But Mr. Asquith has not shown that he agrees to it, nor does the Parliament appear to have done so. If the Parliament indeed bears the responsibility of the advantages and the welfare of India, can we say that this is a proper course of action for it? Mr. Asquith declared some years ago in the Imperial Conference that the British Government were the trustees and guardians of dependencies like India which have no self-government. We do not see how Mr. Asquith, who is a legal expert, has had the heart to urge that the trust should be carried out to the extent to which it is of advantage to himself, and to set it aside when it is against him. It is a matter of frequent occurrence in the administration of India for the Parliament to have yielded to the influence of the Lancashire merchants and consented to keep the interest of India in the background. If even in the present day of pressure brought on by the war, when new feelings and views are declared to have come about and it is loudly talked about that all have become brethren, this condition

of affair is not altered, it will make the Indians more anxious and discontended about the condition likely to be created for them after the war. We would humbly urge that the proceedings of the Lancashire merchants are entirely opposed to the interests of the empire. Last year, in the month of March, the broadminded Lord Hardinge declared from his Viceregal seat that the Imperial Cabinet headed by Mr. Asquith was favourable to the entire abolition of this inland duty. It is a most difficult situation that, when the Indians expected this inland duty to be entirely abolished and a long-deferred justice done to them, the Parliament should have been made to arrive at such a decision. We pray to God that at the time of the said reconsideration, the Indians and their representatives will grow as strong as the Colonies, and acquire the capacity to establish their rights in the Imperial Councils.

101. The Hindu Nesan, of the 16th March, publishes a long extract under this head from the Swadesaparipalini, in which the following observations are made:- This much is certain that some political changes will come about after the war; but we are not prepared to say in what respects those changes will be made. At all events we believe that the demand for self-government for India under the British flag will not be gran ed now; there is no room for us to think that it will be granted in a year or two. Now the British entered upon the war with the high object of saving for innocent Belguim its independence, protecting republican France, and guarding Europe from the military

The condition of India after the war.

aggression of Germany. It is for the accomplishment of these noble objects that thousands of British subjects have died on the battle fields. In these worthy objects of Britain India also acquiesced, and trusts that such principles will be applied to it by the British without hesitation after the war. In the first place, each country will be left to its own Government for the management of its internal affairs, and arrangements made to adjust commercial and political relations throughout the Colonies, India and the other parts of the British Empire. Secondly, if the British Empire is re-built on this new foundation, all arrangements relating to war, foreign relations and other matters will be effected by the Government only in consultation with India and the Colonies. The parliaments of the Colonies will continue to remain; and though India may not be given a parliament immediately, the Legislative Councils may be expanded, the control of finance may be entrusted to them, and rights vested in them by which all political matters, small or great, will have to be disposed of by the Government only in consultation with India and the Colonies. The parliaments of the Colonies will continue to remain; and though India may not be given a parliament immediately, the Legislative Councils may be expanded, the control of finance may be entrusted to them, and rights vested in them by which all political matters, small or great, will have to be disposed of by the Government only in consultation with these councils. That is to say, the executive councils of the Viceroy and of the Provincial Governors may be placed under the control of the respective

Legislative Councils. Apart from this, a separate Imperial parliament may be established, to which India and the Colonies may send representatives elected by popular votes. In the alternative, the Manchestor Guardian says that India may be given the right to send the Indian princes and representatives of the people to the House of Lords in England. The Indians will never approve of this. It is only the House of Commons that rules the empire. It is this House that exercises the greatest power and authority. Will it be just that the Colonies alone should send representatives to it, and India should not? What good is it to us to send our representatives to the ornamental House of Lords only. It will give no satisfaction to our people. Again it is only the House of Commons that has control over the exchequer and we have read in English histories how this alone gives the greatest power. If the Indians are not to send representatives to the new House of Commons by election, they will not think that new rights have been granted to them. India expects that the three representatives who have now gone to England will give expression to these views and plead the cause of the Indians there.

102. The Swadesamitran, of the 19th March, publishes in Tamil the proceedings of the public meeting held in the "Gokhale Hall" recently under the presidency of Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai for urging, among other things, the reforms to be made after the war in the administration of this country, and also gives what purport to be translations of the speeches made and resolutions passed at the meeting.

Post-war reforms.

103. Referring to the information contained in the Marjoribanks-Marakkayar report regarding the

The indebtedness of coolies in Ceylon.

indebtedness of the Indian coolies in the Ceylon plantations, the Swadesamitran, of the 19th March, makes the following remarks:- It should be noted that the moment a coolie recruited in India sets foot on a plantation in Ceylon, the burden of debt surrounds him like an evil destiny. The Commissioners estimate that a coolie earns on an average Rs.10 per mensem, and deducting Rs.6 for his sustenance, he can have a clear saving of Rs.4, if he does not spend it away in drink or dice, or involve himself in debt. It is a matter for consideration whether he can refrain from spending money on sweetmeats, drink or cloth. Apart from this, the kangani takes coolies in twenties and thirties from one plantation to another, and there is room for saying that these kanganis have opportunities for earning money by doing so. Seeing that more than forty-two thousand coolies moved from one plantation to another in the year 1915, how can it be denied that there is some evil design underlying it? In so many ways does the indebtedness of the coolie multiply. It is estimated by planters of experience that the burden of debt oppressing each coolie in Ceylon works up to an average of Rs.70; whereas in the plantations visited by the Commissioners, it is said to amount to from Rs.19 to Rs.50. Some coolies are indebted even to the extent of Rs.200. Again, it is stated in the report itself that, as the chits disclose, if a coolie died, the debt due by the deceased is laid on the head of another coolie, who is his living relative;

but it appears that it is now being excused. Some planters have admitted to the Commissioners, again, that the coolies have complained against their debt amounts being shown to be higher than what they actually owed. The Commissioners endeavoured to examine the accounts showing the indebtedness of the coolies; but they did not succeed in doing so; apparently after arriving at the figures in the chits showing the extent of indebtedness in the previous plantation served in by the coolies, the Commissioners were not able to wade through the numerous particulars of the accounts. The debt amount may be recovered gradually by a portion of the wages being withheld every month. It will take a long time for the amount to be recovered in this manner. In the mean-time the coolie may leave the plantation and go to another, in which case, the debt increases. The Commissioners doubt whether, in the absence of debts, there will be occasion for action being taken against the coolies in counts except for faults committed rarely. Apart from the fact that the indebtedness is the cause of all the evils there, our doubt is whether the coolie can rid himself of his debt and come out within his lifetime.

Discipline in the plantations and the lot of the coolies.

104. The Swadesamitran, of the 22nd March, reports a case in which four men working in a plantation in Ceylon were charged with breac h of discipline and sentenced to three months' rigorous

imprisonment by a Magistrate, for having quarrelled with two women after returning from work at 6 p.m. and in doing so, the paper observes:- Have not the Government under contemplation to replace the indenture system by that of voluntary emigration? The drawbacks of this system are not comprised within specified bounds. The above instance shows that it does not yield to the indenture system in its evil consequences. An appeal was preferred to the Supreme Court in the anove case; but it was dismissed. That was not all. The Judge observed that even if the coolies quarrelled out of their hours of duty, it was misconduct and opposed to the discipline of the plantation, and should also be regarded as misconduct towards the master. It will be a noble course to pacify by kind words and reconcile the disputants immediately in such a case, however natural it may be for the coolies to quarrel. It does not transpire whether the planter in question made such an attempt. We can form a good idea of the independence of the voluntary coolies, and the fitness of that name to them, from the fact that they are condemned to three months' rigorous imprisonment for a private quarrel after the hours of duty, on charges of breach of discipline and misconduct.

Condition of coolies in the Malay States.

105. Referring to a statement found in the Marjoribanks-Marakkayar report to the effect that the reply given to the Hon'ble Mr. Ahmad Thambi Marakkayar, by coolies returning from the Malay States to India, implied that they had no cause for complaint against their masters, the Swadesamitran, of the 23rd March, writes as follows:- Considering how the law empowers the criminal prosecution and imprisonment of coolies for

disobedience of legitimate orders and deriliction of duty, it cannot be denied that certain planters, who cannot exercise proper discretion, are likely to cause fear and unnecessary worry to the coolies. From the statistics taken for the year 1915, out of 177 planters against whom cases were conducted in courts, 101 were convicted, and the conviction was chiefly for failure to send diseased coolies to the hospital, omission to provide suitable accommodation for the coolies, harassment of coolies and failure to pay them their wages. Cases were brought against 86 planters for similar offences, and 55 of them were convicted during the first half of 1916. On the other hand, 1,257 and 898 coolies were convicted respectively during the corresponding periods. Can it be aasserted in the light of these facts that the coolies have no cause for complaint against the planters?

108. A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd March, says:-

Commissioned ranks to Indians.

Colonel A.M. Murray, a military officer, has also strongly criticised in the Englishman the unfairness involved in the authorities not allowing commissioned ranks to Indians. . . . . . . When Lord Curzon was the Viceroy, he says, he also recommended that Indians should be enabled to get commissions in the army, Thousands of youngmen are enthusiastically coming forward to join the Indian Defence Force. Under such circumstances, it is regrettable that Lord Chelmsford has not contemplated to do to India even the kindness which Lord Curzon intended to do. It is the duty of the authorities to adopt the suggestions made by Colonel Murray on this subject.

110. Referring to the order of the Government, issued against Mr. Krishnaswami Sarma,

Order under the Defence of India Act.

under the Defence of India Act, the Andhrapatrika, of the 26th March, remarks that this is the second time that the Act was put into force, and that it behoves the authorities not to spread agitation in this peaceful Presidency by extending to it the application of the Act.

112. The Andhrapatrika, of the 23rd March, says:- Hundreds of young men made themselves

Volunteers.

ready to join the volunteer corps. But they had their doubts as to the conditions on which they would be admitted into it. The conditions now published in the Gazette of India are not satisfactory. It is the opinion of the people that the volunteer force will be formed for the defence of India. To say that the volunteers will have to go to all places is opposed to the idea expressed by the Commander-in-Chief orginally. If they should go to all places where the authorities desired them to go, they would have to give up their avocations and suffer without means of livelihood. It is therefore essential for the formation of an Indian volunteer force that the Indians should be told that the authorities would avail themselves of their services in defending this country only. The age limit which was fixed at 41 orginally has now been reduced to 30. This will result in a great reduction in the number of recruits, and precludes the enlistment of

vakils etc., in large numbers. Unless the military authorities are liberal in fixing the conditions, the formation of a volunteer corps will not benefit the Indians largely.

114. The Swadesamitran, of the 22nd March, has an article on this subject to the following effect:- The separation of the judicial and executive functions from one and the same officer is a demand that has been made for a long time. At last, in 1908, the Hon'ble Sir Haarvey Adamson, who was then a member of the Executive Council of theViceroy, expressed himself in favour of it, by stating that the Government approved of the demand, that the separation would be effected when a favourable opportunity occurred, and that it would be tried as an experiment in Bengal at first. With reference to this, the Hon'ble Mr. Chanda asked in the Imperial Legislative Council yesterday whether any steps were being taken to effect this separation, as it was now more than eight years since the above promise was made. The reply given to it by Sir Reginald Craddock on behalf of the Government is surprising. In addition to admitting that no efforts had been made by the Government of India in respect of it, he stated that in the communications on this subject between the Government of India and the Secretary of State, the latter decided that the present condition of Bengal did not admit of the experiment being made in it, that as it was a highly disputed question, its consideration should be postponed till after the war.

Separation of judicial and executive functions.

As the Secretary of State, who lives in London, is not in a position to realise the true condition of the people's mind in India, we have often written strongly protesting against his unnecessarily interfering in the Indian administrative methods and political affairs. While grave political questions are being discussed in countries more closely connected with the war than India, it is curious to persist in saying that, in Indian matters alone, discussions should not be held during the time of war. We see how, in particular, discussion is disallowed when questions relating to the good of the Indians arise, but permitted, when they are favourable to the Government. Again since the question of the separation of these functions has already been discussed and resolved upon, there is no necessity now for either consideration or discussion. It is, therefore, not in the least admissible to assign the reason that the question is disputable.

Executive and judicial functions.

Referring to the reply of the Government of India to the question put in the supreme Legislative Council relating to the separation of the executive an d the judicial functions, the Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd March, says:- Unfortunately something always stands in theway of any suggestion to reform the administration of India being adopted. A repressive law is passed in this Council and put into operation in the space of 24 hours, but the carrying out of a useful

reform recommended ten years ago, is as far as possible postponed. Although there is unrest in Bengal, it is improper on the part of the Secretary of State and his advisors to suppose that to carry out the reform in question will upset the Government in Bengal. One of the causes of this unrest is the vesting of judicial functions in the District Executive officers. Nowhere in the world except in India can be found the strange practice of vesting both the first-class magisterial powers and the powers of revenue administration in "English boys of 22 years of age." It is not statesmanship to reject the request to separate the functions on the lame pretext of the existence of unrest. The whole of India is not Bengal. Why should not the reform be introduced into the Provinces of Madras and Bombay? The history of this one reform proclaims with a thousand voices on what pretexts administrative changes which the bureaucracy does not like are rejected, however, urgent and just they may be. As the Viceroys and the Governors nod their assent to what the bureaucracy says, the authorities rule the country as they please. It has become the practice for our rulers to say that there ought to be no unrest. But is it not a source of disappointment and unrest to fail to carry out even now something which they promised to carry out ten years ago? It will be fair if the rulers who find fault with the people again and again do so after satisfying themselves that they are not at fault.

118. In the course of a long article contributed by a correspondent under nom-de-plume

Stray Notes.

of "Satyavathi" to the Swadesamitran, of the 23rd March, the following observations are made:- India, which has been the foremost country in the world, is now in a condition of great difficulty, and we, Indians, born in this sacred land, are devoid of independence. But the great ambition has sprung up in us that we shall obtain it under the glorious British rule, and we are anxiously looking forward to the end of the war for it. We are freely shedding our blood in the war to secure victory for our king. Half-starved and dressed in foreign clothes as we are, we are giving away our wealth in heaps. In the meantime, however, numerous difficulties harass us and wound our feelings. In the first place, the Public Services Commission, which the Indians, had long been expecting to do a much good to them, has proved entirely prejudicial to their interests and shaken their hearts mostly. Can we adequately describe the extent of the difficulties undergone by our brothers and sisters who, by adverse circumstances or as a result of their actions in previous births, have gone to foreign countries under the indenture system? Can we keep quiet when this wretched system is still in force? The Indians are hoping that, instead of listening to the complaints of foreigners that they shall be put to heavy losses by the abolition of this system the Viceroy will fully realise the pitiable condition of the Indian women and regard it as a duty to protect their chastity which they value as an ornament to them. Again if it is stated

that in their own country the Indians will not be given the higher posts in the army intended to defend the country which is their own, which Indian will not feel deeply for it? Will any one think that he does not possess sufficient capacity for holding such higher posts? We do not see for what reason they have laid it down that the higher posts will not be given to the Indians. Then the Press Act and the Defence of India Act have come into existence to make us mutes and limbless men, who are already like dumb creatures. What a depreca- tion and discredit it reflects on India to burden India with such acts the like of which are not to be found in the European countries! To what difficulties has the Press Act subjected Mrs. Annie Besant who is the modern Avvayar! We can only dream of this Act being repealed in the time of the present Viceroy, considering his reply to the Press representatives at Delhi. When shall we have redress? Again though the Government of India announced in the Council that they had made the gift of Rs.150 crores to the British Government, without the consent of the representative members thereby burdening India with debt, they quetly received the announcement, seeing that the gift was made for the war. When, however, instead of raising the salt duty, the Government of India raised, fortunately enough for the Indians, the import duty on the cotton piece-goods manufactured by the Lancashire merchants, who have grown fat with Indian money, they protested against it; for they are not Indians to keep quiet over even the small enhancement of the duty. Mr. Asquity, too, came to their rescue, by having the question thrown open for reconsideration after the war. Thus, in every way, India has been subjected to discredit and defeat, and riduculed and tortured by the Colonies

which are the thousand times inferior to it. On account of this dishonour and wan of independence it is shedding tears of blood. What was our strength in the past and what our superiority? Shall we put up with the ridicule from countries far inferior in condition to India? We have none to sympathise with or help us. Self-help is the only help we have. May our great king achieve the victory of ridding us from this condition of ours!

Condition of India in the empire.

119. Referring to a telegram from the Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy regarding the welcome accorded by the colonial representatives to those of India, the Swadesamitran, of the 26th March, thinks that there is reason to believe from the wording of the telegram that the latter have been given equal status with the former, a fact, says the paper, that cannot fail to satisfy any Indian. In this connection the paper observes, "when we consider how the colonial ministers have consented to our representatives being given equal status, and have treated them honourably, and how General Smutts has stated that he has not seen any troops like those of the Indians, we may hope that the colonies have begun to form correct opinions of the Indians, and we believe that good relations will develop, and misunderstandings will vanish." Again, referring to the speech of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the subject of India's gift, the paper asks, "Who can refrain from respecting the Indians after hearing his speech?" It further observes that if he will speak in future in support of India as he has now done, the Indians will regard him as their representation with great joy. After discussing the attitude of

Mr. Asquith in causing the question of the import duty on cotton goods to be thrown open for reconsideration after the war, the paper refers to his statement that the Lancashire weaving industry is an asset to the British Empire, and expresses the hope that he will realize that the development of the same industry in India is also a similar asset to it. Lastly, the paper refers to the following observation is a memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State by Lord Hardinge detailing certain reforms to be made in India: "We should make the Indians believe that their welfare is ours, that we rule India for the good of the people and that we have no other motives of self-interest." mThe paper trusts, in conclusion, that the views of the British politicians will be widened in accordance with this ideal.

Report of the Public Services Commission.

120. The Tamilian, of the 21st February, thinks that this report is bound to give a great satisfaction to all people, as it has bestowed special attention on the peculiar social conditions of this country and adds:- It is only a few who want one class to monopolise all happiness at the expense of the other classes that condemn this report. The people of the higher caste in India, though holding appointments carrying a monthly salary of Rs.500, are prepared to bear tales for a bribe of a basket of plantains. As these migrated into India only a few centuries ago, killed the Buddhist kings, afflicted the Dravidian races, who had orginally settled here, in several ways, converted the appellations intended to devote

a distinction in avocations so as to signify distinctions of caste, pretended that they belonged to the highest caste and lived by begging, they cannot get rid of this habit of begging, even though they have, by the grace of the British, improved in education and civilisation and are given high appointments, and take bribes by deceiving the poor. We do not deny that there are some among the higher classes who are impaetial in discharging their executive duties. But their capacity is surely not a natural one as that of the Englishmen, but only acquired by association. When men of the higher caste holding petty appointments such as a village munsif, etc., afflict the panchamas, who are the aboriginal tribes of this country, beyond limits, what will be the lot of the latter, if the highest appointments are held by the former? If all classes in this country are to be treated alike and enjoy equal facilities, every appointment from the Viceroy down to the Sub-Inspector should be held by the impartial Englishmen.

The Tamilian, of the 28th February refers to the dissenting minute of Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim appended to this report, and contains the same comments as those of the Mahavikatadutan of the 10th March 1917, about it, abstracted in paragraph 97 of Report No. 12 of 1917.

Public Service.

The Bharata Mata, of the 14th March, reproduces the article headed "Publci Service", from the Kistnapatrika of the 3rd February, abstracted on page 346 of the report for the week ending 10th February.

Recommendations of the Public Services Commission.

While commenting on the proceedings of the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the Andhrapatrika, of the 21st March, writes on this subject:- The recommendations of the commission are not conceived in a symathetic spirit. A mountain was in labour and a mouse has come out of it. They are of very little use, but entail an additional burden of 52 lakhs of rupees, if carried out. They are opposed to the provisions of great laws. It is, therefore, necessary that the arrangements of the rulers should be discussed in the Imperial Council.

Orders of prohibition against Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Pal and Tilak.

122. Under the heading "Mrs. Besant and the Imperial Council meeting" the Yadartavachani of the 5th March, refers to an interpellation in the Imperial Legislative Council on the orders of prohibition issued to her, and the reply of the Viceroy thereto to the effect that the Provincial Governments acted only with the sanction of the Government of India, and that though he was not prepared to refer in particular to any of her speeches or portions thereof as being objectionable, their general trend was not suited to the present time of war. The paper agrees with the view and says it will be conducive to the welfare of the country if views opposed to the Government in any way do not crop up in the country, though the speeches of this lady are not legally objectionable. The paper refers also to the orders of prohibition of the Punjab Government against Messrs. Pal and Tilak, and asks how Mr. Tilak can be justified in committing himself to any objectionable action having undergone incarceration several times.

He wounds the feelings of the leaders, says the paper, bu the course he pursues, and it goes on to observe that every action taken should accord with the time, place and circumstances, that the Viceroy's reply must have been satisfactory to the majority of the people, though a few of the leaders may not agree with it, and that, when naturally the rulers of a country adopt a certain course as suited to the times, the people should realise it and, in fairness, keep silent over it. Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Pal and Tilak should put in practice the advise "Those who wait with patience come to rule over kingdoms."

Marjoribanks-Marakkayar Commission.

124. Referring to the report submitted to the Government by this Commission, the Vaisyamitran, of the 12th March, takes credit to itself for having anticipated the result, and observes that it can bring no good for the two Honourable Members to tour in motor-cars, stay for a fortnight each in Ceylon and Malay States, and be entertained by the planters there, however pompously the Commissioners might talk to show that they made their observations with care. Besides says the paper it is certain that one who is closely connected with a shipping company whose business is to recruit coolies for the Malay States, cannot but be true to his salt, though he might talk in public in a pleasing manner.

The Viceroy and the Press deputation.

125. The Vaisyamitran, of the 12th March, writes to express its dissatisfaction at the reply, and

asks when the papers will be free from the affliction caused by the rigorous Press Act and its more rigorous application by the authorities, and can be conducted with independence such as is enjoyed by the other self-governing countries.

Writing on the same subject in its characteristic style, the Mahavikatadhutan, of the 17th March, thinks that the representatives of the Press might better have confined their demands to the removal of doubtful clauses in the Act, the difficulties and delays suffered by presses when changing premises and such other topics, than to have asked for the entire repeal of the Act or to have dwelt at length on the difficulties undergone by the presses which have been prosecuted under this Act. The paper asks how much better it would have been for the press to have so conducted itself as to avoid the passing of this Act. On the contrary, the paper thinks that the press was itself responsible for its being passed, and that Bengal and the United Provinces come in for the largest share of this blame.

The Viceroy and Press deputation.

In a long leader on this subject, Vijayavikatan, of the 21st March, refers to the reply of the Viceroy of the Press deputation and remarks:- The Emperor of France once declared that he was afraid of no one in the world but the editors of newspapers. The Government have passed such a law that the editors have in India to be afraid of even a peon drawing Rs.7.

Under these circumstances, to whom are we to express our grievances? When the newspapers in India have not even an eightth of the privileges enjoyed by those in England, are these to be called "papers" or "keepers" of the officials? It is by the grace of the Almighty that India is under a sincere and benign Government. If, under such a Government, newspapers, which plead for justice, are insulted, who is to be blamed for it? Why should the newspapers now speak against the Government? Have the executive officials in India spe nt a thought over it? No. But the authorities know the object with which the papers write. All that the papers say is that the people of the country no longer need to be guided and demand swaraj for it on the Colonial lines. Instead of giving a proper reply to this, the authorities keep quiet and this silence causes the people to make a louder clamour and use strong language, which lands them in trouble. Without satisfying them again, the officials apply all kinds of repressive enactments and bring the newspapers to a pitiable plight. It is to prevent this that the editors of newspapers waited in deputation upon the Viceroy and importuned him to abolish the Press Act. In replying to this deputation, the Viceroy observed in the beginning that it was not usual for officials like him to receive editors of newspapers. Perhaps the Viceroy regards these editors as a set of useless or mischievous people. It is well known that they have a great deal of influence and that they can make or mar anything. Is it fair to say that it is not usual to receive such men in audience? Suppose the Viceroy has to see the editors, can they afford to repeat this argument? The Viceroy is famous only in India; but the learned are famous wherever they go.

126. The Mahavikatadhutan, of the 17th March, writes of India in its comic vein as a child 150 years old, brought up with step-motherly care and kept within the bounds of safety as weaklings by being deprived of control over the finance, gagged and clogged with the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, and the Criminal Investigation Department, and denied the use of arms to defend itself, for fear of its hurting itself. The paper characterises the result of such a treatment as tending to make the childn grow weaker day by day and live its years back from walking to crawling.

The present condition of India under the British Rule.

127. Referring to a statement made in the Imperial Legislative Council on behalf of the Government that two papers are subsidized--one by the Bombay Government to the extent of Rs.16,000 and the other by the Bengal Government to the extent of Rs.62,000--the Vaisyamitran, of the 19th Marcy, asks how many subscribers these papers really have.

Subsidized journals.

Referring to the newspapers reported by Sir Reginald Craddock as receiving aid from some local Governments, the Desamata, of the 21st March, observes:- Why, of the newspapers of this country, these have been selected for the grant of aid, and why these papers looked for aid, the readers may themselves imagine.

Newspapers.

Referring to the subsidies paid by the Government to certain newspapers, the Kerala Sanchari, of the 21st March, writes:- Why do the Governmant

The Government and the subsidies to newspapers.

give such help to these papers? Under what head does the amount spent come?

The demand for merchantmen.

128. Referring to a telegram said to have been sent by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Ceylon Government to the effect that the British Government have, in view of the scarcity of ships and food-stuffs, resolved to call back all the ships plying to India and the other countries in the east, and engage them economically so as to meet the bare necessity, the Vaisyamitran, of the 19th March, observes that hereafter even the few ships that now ply in the Indian seas will become rare.

A curious view of the United Provinces Government.

129. The Vijayavikatan, of the 21st March, says:- The United Provinces Government seem to have framed a rule that some appointments in the Police Department should not be given to Brahmans. This cannot but be a matter of surprise to many. In reply to a question on this subject in the Legislative Council of that Province, the Government appear to have stated that Brahmans were bad masters and that police duties would suffer on account of the Brahmans forming a superior caste and the other classes showing respect for them. Every one hearing this argument is bound to be surprised. Now Brahmans predominate in every place and every occupation. They form the majority of the official class from the Governor down to the constable. Have they on this account done anything against the rulers or the ruled? If a single Brahman misbehaves somewhere, is the whole class to be condemned on that score? Perhaps the Government of the United Provinces are annoyed with the Brahmans on

account of the latter striving for the acquisition of swaraj.

139. The Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd March, reproduces,

The Imperial Conference.

from the Bombay Hindi Punch, a cartoon of three dogs with human faces and chained necks, representing Sir James Meston, the Maharaja of Bikanir and Sir S.P. Sinha, Indian representatives in the Imperial Conference.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 27th March, says:- We

The Imperial Conference.

feel gratified that the Indian representatives in the Imperial Conference are garded not as assessors but as regular representative members. It is well that the Colonial representatives and the British authorities have recognised that it is improper not to give India which has rendered so much help at the present crisis, a share in the Empire, for petty reasons. Besides the sacrifice she made, the minds of her sons are aglow with patriotism. It is not possible to neglect this fire of patriotism. ~~It-is-not-possible-to-neglect-this fire-of-patriotism.~~ If the advocates of bureaucracy in our country and the representatives in the Imperial Conference understand this secret, our political reforms will be easy. The firm attitude of Mr. Chamberlain towards the Lancashire cloth merchants and the firm stand that the Indian representatives have made to safeguard our rights will tend to the accomplishment of our object.

141. The Andhrapatrika, of the 23rd March, says:- In their reply to the letter of Mr. Tilak

Mr. Tilak and the Punjab Government.

requesting the Punjab Government to state the grounds on which he was forbidden to enter the Punjab, they said that there was nothing to state. This is just like the replies given in the Legislative Councils. Although the intention of the ruler of the Punjab may be good, it is plain that the reply is not courteous. The Government of Punjab might have given such a reply, fearing that any other reply would lead to trouble.

157. The Quami Report, of the 19th March, writes:- Last Wednesday Dr. Nayar delivered a

A Hindu friend of the Muhammadans.

lecture at the Town Hall on our future political aspirations. The meeting was arranged by a Muslim Association and a Muhammadan, an outsider, was brought in and given the chair. Dr. Nayar's views always contain something humorous, and if he had only contended himself with provoking mirth we should have very soon forgotten his lack of seriousness. But, as he has caused an aspersion on one of the great leaders of the Muhammadan community, we cannot ignore his procedure. Dr. Nayar, referring to the opinion of Justice Moulvi Abdur Rahim Sahib, expressed on the Royal Service Commission that the Civil Service examinations should be held in India also, stated that such an opinion was prejudicial to the interests of Mussalmans, for the city contains a larger number of Hindus and at present only a small number of them pass as the examinations are held in England. But should they be held in India also Muhammadans would have no chance of success.

The Doctor, after expressing so much heartfelt sympathy with Mussalmans, says "Such is the state of the leaders". By which is meant that the leadership of Justice Abdur ~~Ø~~ Rahim Sahib is unreliable.

We wonder how it has come to pass that the Doctor, who is not a Muslim, who has never taken part in Islamic affairs and who has throttled Unani medical practice, has become such a true friend of, and a sincere sympathiser with, the Mussalmans?

The proof of this sympathy with Mussalmans given by the Doctor is lacking in one respect, and that is he has not proposed to Government to hold the B.A. and B.L. exa inations also in England in future on the ground that a large number of Hindus pass these tests! If he had done so, the Muslim Association would certainly have at least thanked him.

The fact is the Doctor only wanted to criticise Justice Abdur Rahim, otherwise he knows perfectly well that Brahmans have set aside the religious objection to crossing the sea. If an examination were held on some island or in a submarine these people would assuredly find their way there. Are Muslims such cowards and poltroons as to endeavour to advance themselves by blocking the way of another community?

By the grace of God, Muhammadans are not deficient in education today. Twenty-five years ago we were against simultaneous examinations in India, but now times have changed and Muhammadan graduates

are hunting for appointments carrying Rs.70 or Rs.80 per mensem, and if the Civil Service examinations be held in India at least 2 per cent of the poor Muslims will surely succeed. It is regrettable to find that Dr. Nayar, not in his enthusiasm for Muslim friendship but in his zeal to cast a slur on Justice Abdur Rahim, has lost sight of the real object.

He should bear in mind that the whole Muslim community has accepted Justice Abdur Rahim as a leader who is conscious of the needs of his community. There are two kinds of leaders in the world--one made and the other born. Justice Abdur Rahim is by nature the minister and guide of the Muslim community. Therefore to hold his views up to ridicule is not a light matter. Dr. Nayar is absolutely unacquainted with Muslim politics. His words show him to have just emerged from Sir Saiyed Ahmad's time and that he is giving expression to views generally held by Muhammadans twenty-five years ago!

Muhammadans can never approve the aims and objects of the Congress. Whether it be Home Rule or swaraj neither the one nor the other suits their temperament. This does not mean, however, that we should keep aloof and refuse our approval of certain beneficent reforms. Even if Home Rule, or swaraj, be demanded on our conditions and with the due safeguarding of our rights we do not, in any circumstances, subscribe to a policy of aloofness.

The Editor says that, while Dr. Nayar's uncalled for and improper strictures on Justice Abdur Rahim have done

the latter no harm, they have, on the contrary, betrayed a lamentable want of knowledge on his part. Our contemporary the Hindu rightly writes that Dr. Nayar, by criticising Justice Abdur Rahim, has rendered his own remarks unworthy of consideration.

159. The Quami Report, of the 24th March, writes:-

"Justice Abdur Rahim and Mussalmans."

The Quami Report has already thrown light on Dr. Nayar's misconception and proved that Justice Abdur Rahim had never done anything on the Public Services Commission prejudicial to the rights of Muhammadans.

"This is my statement proceeded out of my mouth."

The way in which Dr. Nayar has pronounced justice Abdur Rahim to be an enemy of Muhammadan rights and hinted at his own views has proved him to be very unsuccessful in diagonosing the case of Muhammadans.

A correspondent has kindled the flames anew in the columns of the Quami Report, and asks us what answer the supporters of Dr. Nayar have got, who are endeavouring to prove through Justice Abdur Rahim himself that he has opposed the claims of Muhammadans.

The fact is that the Muhammadans at one time did not like the idea of having the Civil Service Examinations in India because the Hindus had made much progress

in higher education and they would easily be the gainers. Those who made this proposal were simply repeating old story without considering that the condition of Muhammadans is not what it was formerly. Now, by the grace of God, they are making genuine educational progress and should the Civil Service Examinations be now held in India, some Muhammadans would surely be able to pass. What has hitherto prevented Muhammadans from passing the examination is not lack of knowledge but lack of funds. It is because of the prohibitive cost of the voyage to England, education and living, that no Muhammadan has yet been bold enough to make the attempt. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, who is an intelligent person and self-respecting gentleman, has asdertained the real cause of Muhammadan backwardness and, solely for the sake of benefiting his poor co-religionists he has supported an old Hindu demand. It is not, however, due to the fact that it is an old Hindu demand but because the number of young Muhammadan graduates is increasing and hence they can prepare for the Civil Service Examinations in their own country.

It is always the way of the world, a thing which has been detrimental and injurious in one age becomes useful and beneficial in another.

The Muhammadans, who gave evidence against holding Simultaneous Examinations in India, desire to maintain an old opinion, but they have not adduced any arguments or proofs in support of thier position.

arguments or proofs in support of their position. Had they done so, we might have subjected them to a critical examination.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 7TH APRIL 1917.

No. 14 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

India and Parliament.

22. In a leader on this subject, the Hindu, of the 2nd April, remarks:- "It is now more than a century and a half since an inquiry was conducted by a Committee of the British Parliament into the affairs of India. In the days of the East India Company, Indian affairs were subjected to a searching parliamentary enquiry once in every twenty years when the Company's Charter was sought to be renewed by the Court of Directors; but with the passing of the Government of this country under the Crown, its affairs were placed under the control of the Secretary of State for India. Since then, Parliament has practically ceased to take interest in, much less to exercise any very effective control oveer, Indian affairs. . . . .
Much indignation is therefore felt in this country at the fact that this official has gradually become the agent in England of the Indian bureaucracy on the one hand and that of the British vested interests on the other.

. . . . .Under these circumstances, one would have thought that Sir Charles Henry's suggestion in the Commons, which Reuter has wired today, should have met with wide approval. Sir Charles suggested that a Parliamentary Commission should be appointed to investigate and report to Parliament upon the policy that might be recommended by the Government of the day in the connection with Indian affairw; but Mr. Bonar Law, who replied on behalf of the Government, contented himself with stating that the Government did not propose to take that course, but that they were considering the whole subject. For one thing, no one, we suppose, will deny that the bureaucratic form of government in this country, responsible virturally to no one but those composing it, has long outlived its usefulness. It will be admitted, we think on all hands, that it must soon be replaced by a machinery less outworn, less amenable to false ideas of racial superiority, efficiency and prestige, by one, moreover, which will not only acknowledge some sort of responsibility to the people which could easily be brought home to it, but also be ready and ungrudging to take into its fold a preponderatingly larger number of Indians that it now does. . . . . .We think a Parliamentary enquiry into the working of bureaucratic government and its effect on India and her people will be of great assistance in solving the problem. There is another aspect of the Indian problem apart from the strictly political one; and that is that India needs to be developed in the interests, first and foremost of the Indian people. Her economic and fiscal policy should, therefore, be so directed as to attain this object. Indian public opinion is most emphatic on this point: that, being, as she is, the least advanced in point of industries, education,

sanitation, vitality, earning capacity and other respects which are some of the tests of true progress, her hands should be left completely free to develop herself to the level of the advanced components of the empire. With this reservation, guaranteeing complete liberty to India to pursue her legitimate national aims and national development without being tied down by limitations that might be suggested on alleged Imperial grounds, we think India will gladly participate in any scheme of Empire development, and we trust England and the Dominions will not fail to appreciate this reasonable attitude of India based, as it is, on a legitimate desire to lead a decent national life. . . . . It must, however, be remarked that India is very sensitive as regards the Indian Trade Enquiry now in progress at the Imperial Institute; for, it suggests that India is to be condemned to be, for ever, a producer of raw materials for the manufacturers abroad. We can think of no greater harm to British prestige in this country than that of creating an impression in the minds of the people here that their country exists only to be exploited for the benefit of British manufacturers and capitalists. The recent activities of the Imperial Institute and of the Raw Materials Committee of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, to which Reuter refers today, are, we are afraid, eminently calculated to create such an impression. It is necessary, therefore, that Government should take an early opportunity to assure India that only such materials as could not, in the nature of things, be worked out in India, would be sought for by England, Indian economic resources as well as interests have, in the past, been very much neglected; and, if a Parliamentary Commission on Indian affairs is constituted, an economic policy most suited to

Indian needs is likely to be more readily thought of and perhaps laid down. What is required in the solution of Indian affairs at present is a broad-minded, statesman-like and disinterested attitude towards India, based on the recognition of her just and natural desire for a higher standard of life and a greater freedom of action to her people."

Lord Ronaldshay and Indian aspirations.

23. The Indian Patriot, of the 2nd April, writes:- "Lord Ronaldshay had the opportunity last Saturday to come face to face with the leaders of Indian thought and opinion in Bengal who waited upon their new Governor with addresses of welcome and expressions of their immediate needs. We frankly confess that we are disappointed with the speeches which the new Governor made in reply. . . . . .From those who come to rule over us we expect something more than mere platitudes, something that would be less formal than the first meeting of strangers. The educated people are very much exercised over the situation. There is no use, we think, in concealing the fact that the one question on which India--by which, of course, we mean the real India that alone counts, the India of the educated classes--is very intent today is whether, after the victorious ending of the war, India will have self-government, or at least the promise of it, not by word of mouth from King or Commoners which can, and as we all know, have been explained away, but by the inauguration of definite measures that lead to the goal. . . . .

To those who are accustomed to ignore Indian politicians, nothing counts; but we suppose we have among our administrators some at least who hear in the voice of the politician elected to the Legislative Council the voice of the people. And to them we say this, that by their silence about the future of India at a time when the popular mind is set upon it, theyare slipping a golden opportunity to rally the Moderates. . . . . .The question is whether Lord Ronaldshay who has come to take charge of Bengal, or the other British noblemen who will soon be on their way to take charge of Madras and Bombay, will be prepared to understand, and not merely sympathise with their aspirations but urge them with the fervour of Sir William Wedderburn or the late Mr. Hume. . . . . .We look in vain in Lord Ronaldshay's speeches for such a spirit; on the other hand, he betrayed his weakness when, referring to the agitation against his appointment he said: 'He had served his apprenticeship in the rough and tumble of English political life and he could assure them that they would always find him ready to welcome criticism that was well informed and that was intended to be helpful. Perhaps they would forgive him if he added that he would treat the criticism which lacked those qualities with contempt which it seemed to him to deserve.' Bengal was perfectly right when it distrusted him as the author of his books; and the responsibility is all the more his to show that the Ronaldshay who travelled in the east is different from the Ronaldshay who has come to rule over millions of Bengalees."

25. In a leader under the heading "Discovery of a Mare's nest", Justice, of the 3rd April, states:-

The subsidizing of newspapers.

"The Brahman members of the Madras Legislative Council are simply great. With the expected advent of Home Rule for India they have become greater. The weight of the Indian Empire has already begun to press on them. The responsibility of passing the budget in the form of money bills, and of snubbing the Executive Government in the process, will be theirs very soon. They are preparing themselves to undertake their new responsibilities. From asking for increase of pay to District Munsifs, and travelling allowances for village officers, they have now, passed on to retrenchment of national expenditure. The Government are spending thirty-eight thousand rupees on subscriptions to newspapers and periodicals. Here is a political scandal of the first magnitude. Representatives of the people of India cannot see public money wasted in this way. So the Madras Government were interpellated at a meeting of the Legislative Council held last February. Of course the Government could not face the Honourable Brahman cross-examiner. How could they with their guilty conscience? They could ~~rep~~ only escape by declining to answer. But unfortunately this was only a jump from the frying pan to the fire. . . . . Four or five Brahman Honourable Members of the Legislative Council opened fire yesterday. One of them asked a direct question whether the daily newspaper Justice was subsidised or intended to be subsidised.

It was getting rather warm for us. The Government replied that they were not subsidising any newspapers, but they would not give out the exact number of copies of any newspaper which they were taking and paying for. This was most provoking and highly suggestive. The Government must be paying for at least 1,000 copies of Justice--otherwise why this mystery? . . . . .We have been the subject of abuse both public and anonymous. The latest was an attempt to discredit us. We shall expect other attempts in the same direction and shall be prepared to meet them. But, is this the tolerance of criticism that the future Home Rule Government is going to show? Well, in that case we can only say: 'I give thee six pence, I'll see thee damned first.'"

29. The following appears in Justice, of the 4th April:-

The Emigration Enquiry Committee's Report.

"In the Straits Echo of March 17th there appeared an article on the 'Indian Labour report.' This is how our Straits contemporary begins its comments:-

> 'Any fairly intelligent schoolboy, having access to the records of the local labour Department and the Indian Immigration Committee, could have compiled the report on Indian Labour in British Malaya to which Mr. N.E. Marjoribanks and the Hon'ble Ahmad Tambi

Marakkayar have appended their signature. This is distinctly disappointing, for Mr. Marjoribanks is a senior member of the Indian Civil Service and his Indian colleague a person of considerable position in the Madras Presidency. From them we might reasonably have expected an interesting contribution to the literature of a highly important subject, conclusions which would have carried conviction to the body of Indian public opinion at whose instance they were appointed, recommendations which might usefully be carried into effect for the benefit of Indian agricultural labourers in this country. However, it is not for us to quarrel with the Commissioners and their report, though if that document constitutes a fair sample of what the diligence and ability of the Indian Civil Service, seconded by the experience of an eminent Indian, generally produce as the result of such an enquiry, we can only conclude that the Indian Civil Service is a much overrated service and that from the administrative point of view Malaya certainly does not suffer in comparison with the great Dependency though in the Civil Service examinations we do not get the pick of the basket or pay our men as well.'

The Indian Civil Service has been the theme of many a warm penegyric, and it can therefore afford to ignore this outburst on the part of the Straits paper. Only

recently some of the Indian critics spoke almost in the same strain about the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Public Services. . . . . .Of course the Straits Echo is wholly on the side of the planter, for it says:-

> 'From our standpoint indeed the report--colourless, jejune and uninteresting though it be--may be considered satisfactory. No one in the Straits who has had any firsthand acquaintance with Tamil labour in various parts of the country ever thought that the planting industry had anything to fear from any enquiry, however rigorously conducted into the conditions under which that labour is employed. We knew that, taken all round, the Indian coolies in Malaya are well treated, well housed and generally contented, and that the statements to the contrary which have appeared in the Indian native press are either the result of deliberate misrepresentation or founded on absolutely isolated and exceptional incidents. . .'

Of course our contemporary is so self-complacent that it takes for granted that others elsewhere are of the same mind. It apparently does not know how the people here feel in the matter. The coolie in India is often an ignorant person. In not a few cases it is distance that lends enchantment to the view. In others the coolie is the victim of the recruiter. But before long the Indian coolie will know what his true interests are."

Vernacular Papers.

I. Foreign Politics.

42. The Kerala Patrika, of the 31st March, rejoices at India being, like the Colonies, allowed to vote at the War Conference, and observes that, if Indians whose share in the defence of the Empire during this war, was no less than that of the Colonials, be given equal privileges with the latter in all matters, as has been done in the present case, they will have few things to complain of, and that in consideration of her sacrifices, it is to be hoped that India will be treated in the same way as the Colonies.

India and the War Conference.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

63. The Lokopakari, of the 26th March, writes as follows in connection with the changes in the Executive Council of this Province:- The Government of Bengal should particularly be sympathetic towards the people of that Province, though, for that matter, the whole of India should be administered with sympathy; and this is due to the disturbances that have come to prevail in Bengal since the time of Lord Curzon. At least in consideration of the sacrifices made by India to the British Empire, the authorities are bound to show great sympathy to the subjects and conduct the Government so as

The Province of Bengal.

to cause satisfaction to them. If the authorities will conduct themselves realising their own responsibility and the duty that the British owe to India, discontent will not be found at all in this country. The disturbances prevailing in Bengal will have disappeared if Lord Carmichael had been allowed to continue as Governor of that Province for some time longer. But this was not done because of the changes in the British Cabinet.

The new Governor of Bengal.

66. Referring to Lord Ronaldshay's reply to the welcome given to him by the representative Members of the Legislative Council of Bengal, the Prapanchamitran, of the 30th March, observes:- The reply was such as to cause satisfaction to the Bengalis. From this speech, the nature of his administration of that Province, may in a way be conjectured. If Lord Ronaldshay will act in accordance with the new feelings that have been roused in the Indians, his rule will indeed be satisfactory.

India in the Imperial War Conference.

68. Referring to the telegram from the Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy in which mention is made of an equal status having been given to the Indian representatives including himself in this conference, the Hindu Nesan, of the 27th March, observes:- This news will give great satisfaction to the Indian public. The fears entertained about their not being given such a status have proved false. Nor is it without reason that they were so given. The free gift of 150 crores of rupees by India must have put the Colonies to

shame. Besides they must have recognised the heroism and valour of the Indian troops on the battlefields. India has so conquered the minds of the Colonies by her enormous gift that they could not wag their tails in this conference or indulge in petty mischiefs. If the recognition of this fact by the Colonies should be shared by England also, it will be a great advantage to India in the future.

69. Referring to the determination come to by the British Government for drawing off from

The Indian Defence Force.

India the detachments belonging to the Standing Army with a view to effectively meet the great preparations made by Germany in collecting its entire resources this year, and for the formation of a defence force here, the Swadesamitran, of the 28th March, writes:- If students of schools and colleges, clerks of commercial firms and banks and Government servants offer to join the Defence Force, they will have to be away from their work for three months for purposes of military training. We believe the Government will make the necessary arrangements, so that these may not come to any harm by this either now or hereafter. The reason is not known why there has been such a delay in publishing details regarding the admission of Indians to this force, whereas the arrangements relating to the admission of Europeans and Anglo-Indians had already been made. Arrangements should also be made for the admission of Indians without any delay just at this moment when enthusiasm and excitement are newly springing up in their minds. Though it is not possible in India to have recourse to the many methods and arrangements resorted to in England and the Colonies in stirring up the patriotism of the people and making

them join the army, our leaders should hold public meetings everywhere and influence the people to come forward. As it is the duty of our countrymen to understand the responsibility of the country's defence, and the nature of military service, it is difficult to have another opportunity, like this for us to acquire such a necessary experience. We trust, therefore, that the people will come forward in large numbers to join this force.

The Indian Defence Force.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 29th March, says:- The arrangements made in connection with the creation of an Indian Defence Force are all proper to a discerning mind. . . . . .It is necessary that those who wish to join the force join it as ordinary soldiers. Those who show skill as ordinary soldiers may have higher offices conferred on them. . . . . .People will have greater scope to join the army if two more stations are opened in the north and south of the Madras Presidency to give them military training.

The Indian Defence Force.

The Andhraprakasika, of the 31st March, is gratified that the conditions recently published, under which Indians will be taken into the Indian Defence Force, are favourable to the public. It exhorts the people to join the army without any scruples, and justify the confidence reposed in them by the Government.

The Indian Defence Force.

Referring to the "Indian Defence Force", the Keralodayam, of the 3rd April, dwells upon the necessity of all patriotic and loyal people

joining the army for the defence of their country, instead of leaving it in the hands of Europeans, and of clamouring at the same time for self-government, to which they would have no title, unless they be prepared to defend their own country.

The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 24th March has a leader on the marginally-noted subject:- We do not wish, like certain common shortsighted people, to raise a carping cry against the measures adopted by our Government for the Defence of India. On the contrary we put them down to the British Government's vigilance, caution, perfect foresight and its ability to see the end from the beginning, and we consider them to be the cause of the existing security, tranquility and comfort enjoyed by the people and of the assurance felt by the Government. But we desire to submit, for the consideration of Government, an, excellent and effective suggestion regarding Defence. If it is approved by Government we shall consider ourselves extremely lucky and fortunate, but even, if it is rejected we shall not be hurt, for it is the duty of every individual subject according to his ability to do what he can for the good of our benign and just Government. As for the rest, the following hemistich expresses our mental attitude:

Indian Defence.

"Kings know the secret of Government best."

The entire population of India may be divided into two classes of persons, namely (1) those who strictly adhere to religious principles and practices and give worldly matters and material benefits a secondary place in their thought. According to God's word:

"And others of you chose the world to come" (Koran III.146--Trans.)

Their real object is to bring about reform in the realm of religion while they regard temporal advantages as only ancillary to the attainment of this end and not as a means to enjoyment and pleasure.

The other class regards temporal benefits as their primary and personal aim. This class consists of two kinds of persons, one includes religious reforms in its programme but the other ignores them and is entirely taken up only with temporal advantages.

The above two classes include the whole population of India.

If persons of each and every class assist, the Defence of India will be perfect.

We admit that the measures such as internment, imprisonment, etc., which are adopted by the Government, produce an impression on certain individuals, but that is not general and hence it does not touch all and in this way hundreds of thousands, nay, millions are

unaffected. Some people, however, instead of profiting by the lesson, increase their mischief and secretly seduce the simple minded.

In a word these measures affect scarcely one in a hundred thousand.

The editor makes the following suggestion as likely to be universal in its operation, namely, of the two classes the first can be controlled if their religious leaders, elders, and preceptors issue over their signatures a manifesto to the effect that, in accordance with the tenets of their religion sympathizing with, and helping, the Government at this juncture will lead to their future salvation and eternal welfare, and that any opposition would spell disaster and death.

A second manifesto should be issued signed by chiefs and ruling princes. Crores of copies of the latter should be issued signed by chiefs and ruling princes.

If our cultured, enlightened and far-seeing Government adopt this plan, it will assuredly be attended with success and there will be no further occasion for internment, etc.

The Indian Defence Force and the Madras University.

70. Referring to the arrangements made by the Bombay University with the Principals of the colleges of that Presidency for registering the names of the graduates and Intermediate students, who desire to join the Defence Force, the Swadesamitran, of the 29th March, writes:- We have yet had no information as to what the Madras University has done or intends doing in the matter. When a public meeting was held here under the presidency of Sri P.S. Sivaswami Ayyar for collecting

men for the Defence Force, the question of admission of the students of this University to the force was communicated to the University. It is surprising that it has not yet made known its views.

71. A correspondent writes to the Hindu Nesan of the 28th March explaining how the root of the evil of coolies going out to foreign countries likes in the impoverished condition of the ryots who labour under a sad want of the necessary facilities for cultivation in their own country, incur heavy costs of cultivation in having to purchase bullocks and dig wells, and have to pay the kists compulsorily every season. In doing so, he quotes the instance of a group of ten villages comprising Pundi and others in the Uttaranmerur Division, which have been appealing to the Government for the last thirty years in vain for repairing the only channel which feeds all the tanks and reservoirs on which the ten villages depend for irrigating their fields, and which has been filled up with silt. In this connection, the correspondent observes that the Government do not accede to the prayers of the people for being provided with the necessary facilities for irrigation, and even if consideration is bestowed on the subject, it is eventually stated that nothing could be done. Unless, therefore, the authorities relieve the ryots from these evils, all attempts to abolish the indenture system will be fruitless.

Indenture system and the condition of the ryots.

78. The Swadesamitran, of the 29th March, publishes

The application of the Press Act.

the following summary in Tamil of an article from the Bombay Chronicle on the particulars regarding the application of this Act which transpired at a recent meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council:- "The amount appropriated by the Government by security and forfeiture from the printing presses is three lakhs twenty-five thousand and four hundred rupees, while that taken as security from newspapers is one lakh and twenty-one thousand. This total amount of nearly five lakhs has been laid as a burden on the shoulders of journals and presses for their good conduct, without any inquiry and without opportunities being afforded for explanations as required by law. Could these figures have been known to Lord Chelmsford, when he told the members of the press deputation that the enforcement of the Press Act had not caused considerable difficulty to journals and presses, and that it was not severe? If not, does he still continue to entertain the same opinion? The number of presses which have stopped working on account of their inability to pay the security demanded of them is 200, while the number of journals that have not been publish d for the same reason is 105. Though it is stated in the report that the Bombay Chronicle was warned five times in 1915, it is not known when it received a warning. This is surprising indeed. The report shows that the Times of India and the Advocate of India have also received warnings three times."

80. A correspondent writes to the Hindu Nesan, of the 29th March, under the pseudonym of "Vindunemi",

Swadeshi.

to the effect that the failure of the Lancashire merchants to have the enhancement of the import duty on cotton goods cancelled, affords a good opportunity to the Indians to improve the weaving industry in India and thereby drive away the Manchester supply from the market, without being swayed down by the consideration that this advantage is likely to last only as long as the war continues. In this connection, the correspondent recommends to the people to take up the swadeshi vow, as this is an opportunity that cannot be had again if now lost.

90. A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 30th March, says:-

The new movement.

Some members of the bureaucracy tried to uproot the new national movement in India. But God's power is greater than man's. Great movements prompted by divine inspiration cannot be destroyed by any arbitrary power. The High Courts have decided that the desire for swaraj is a legitimate one. As repressive laws multiplied, new aims and aspirations have sprouted in the hearts of the people. At last, the authorities had themselves to submit to the new movement to some extent. The inviting of the Indian representatives to the Imperial Conference, the admission of Indians into the Indian Defence Force, the abolition of indentured labour by the rulers, out of respect for public opinion which had strongly expressed

itself against it, are all the result of this movement. There is nothing strange in that the new auspicious movement, which has received the approval of the Congress and the Muslim League at Lucknow, could unite both the Hindus and the Muhammadans in mutual bonds of love.

95. In a note on the subject of Imperial Conference,

The Imperial Conference.

the Andhrapatrika, of the 31st March, says:- The Outlook states:- "The 30 crores of Indians in India are fit to have the rights of British citizenship. But the Colonies deny this privilege to them. Indians have to go to the Colonies under a system of indentured labour. We do not believe this state of things will continue after the war." When the British people thus manifest a liberal attitude in this matter, it is curious that Mr. Chamberlain has stated that it will not be possible to abolish the system of indentured labour at once.

96. The Andhrapatrika, of the 31st March, says:- According

Political reforms.

to Mr. Pennington, the reforms most urgently needed in India are the grant of the right to bear arms, the admission of the Indians into the volunteer corps, the conferring of a greater number of higher appointments on them, and their appointment in greater numbers in the Executive Councils. He says that these reforms will undoubtedly lead to provincial self-government. But it is easier to go from the top to the bottom than to go from the bottom to the top. If provincial self-government is established, the other reforms will follow.

105. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 4th April, writes:-

British Empire and India.

When Mr. Chamberlain was appointed Secretary of State for India, patriots expressed some misgiving. He has won the confidence of India by his firm reply to the Lancashire merchants. We are gratified to find, from a Reuter's telegram published today, that Mr. Chamberlain's love for India is gathering strength. His praise of India, on the occasion of the luncheon given by the British Empire producers, raises a doubt whether the angle of vision is really changing among the British statesmen. The ideas expressed by Mr. Chamberlain are at variance with those entertained by our authorities, at the present day. It is for the Lancashire mills that our cotton is grown. Lancashire cloths are manufactured for us. Offices in India have been created for the sake of the British people, and our trade exists not for us, but for others. Quite a different idea appears from Mr. Chamberlain's words. India's development and prosperity is the development and prosperity of the British Empire. The former helps on the latter, but does not militate against it. If a member of the Empire is weak, it affects the others and a prosperious India will be the most beautiful members of the British Empire. India's prosperity benefits not only India, but also the British Empire, and the world. The Swarajists ask for swaraj in this spirit, and not out of motives of mere self-interest. No good can result unless bureaucracy understands this secret.

116. The Qaumi Report, of the 29th March, writes:-

A few fresh favours.

As the banner of the Hindus is flying in Madras and all the higher Government appointments are in their prossession some of which appear to be hereditary while others seem to be leased to them, the Mussalmans may not even think of such preferment. Then there are other places which are filled by the nominees of the powers that be. During the administration of Lord Pentland hard and outstanding cases may be found, e.g., although Mussalmans could be nominated, yet Fate has always cast the lot in favour of the Hindus. In the whole Presidency a High Court judgeship is the most distinguished position, but the present state of affairs is this: There are four Hindu Judges and only one Mussalman to represent all alone a great community. The fourth term of the Executive Council has begun but not once has a single Mussalman been nominated!

We are told that Mussalmans are not qualified. We have hitherto admitted this charge, but now we must ask to be excused for no longer being able to at all agree with the force of the logic of this argument; for at least a couple of Mussalmans can be found for each department and, if the Government would but take into consideration our social difficulties it would be able to agree with us that the progress we have made during the last twelve years, has exceeded all expectations.

Mussalmans are, however, pleased to observe that towards the termination of Lord Pentland's term of office, attention is being directed to Muhammadans and, apparently, there is a desire to make up for the past.

The writer refers to the appointments of Khan Bahadur Muhammad Azizuddin Sahib, as Collector of Madras, and Khan Bahadur V. Usman Sahib as Collector of Anantapur, and says "Perhaps our fellow countrymen will regard these appointments as favours and will congratulate Mussalmans on their good fortune." But we are obliged to assert that this is no special consideration. Mr. Azizuddin is already a Collector who has not been appointed but transferred to Madras. He has spent the best part of his life in the service of Government, has done confidential work as Political Agent to the French Possessions and is, in every way, fit for the distinction. Hence we do not know how we are to congratulate him on an ordinary transfer. The case of Mr. Usman is similar. These gentlemen have only got their dues, and that, we regret to say, after a long delay. Those people are worthy of being congratulated, who are promptly considered deserving of Government recognition. Others only fill another appointment when the term of one, they are holding, is run out. We cannot regard such appointments as a source of joy to the community. It is simply a case of "Right has come to the rightful."

119. The Qaumi Report, of the 2nd April, writes:-

Who will listen to the cry of the poor?

In Madras, Hindus have formed themselves into parties of Brahmans and nob-Brahmans. The non-Brahman party lifts up its voice and gives expression to its lamentation in a paper called Justice. Its complaint is that the Government is not as favourably disposed to

non-Brahmans as it is to Brahmans. The editor of Justice very energetically draws the attention of Government to the fact that the rights of non-Brahmans should not be trodden under foot in this manner.

The Qaumi Report observes, "We hear this clamour and complaining, examine our own feelings and mental condition and are silent. Mussalman's breasts are cauterised and their eyes shed tears of blood. But we know"

"Who listens to the cry of the poor?"

"Upon the head of the poor be the rage of the poor."

Be this as it may, Brahmans and non-Brahmans are both Hindus. But look at the lot of Muhammadans. Nationality, distinct; language, distinct; needs, distinct!

They have no European mother or brother. They are neither connected with angels nor related to the Divine. They have made over sovereignty to others, sacrificed their wealth, and blasted their future hopes in their pursuit after present happiness. Their condition is a case of: "Home gone and country gone, and name gone:

"For love of you everything is gone."

There are four English papers, the Hindu, New India, the Indian Patriot and Justice, published by Hindus, They have also some connexion with the Madras Times. They also publish in Tamil four or five papers called Swadesa-mitran, Hindu Nesan, etc.

The p or Muhammadans do not publish a single paper in English. Even if they have a couple of Urdu journals the range of their voice is restricted by the translation gramophone.

The lot of the Urdu papers recalls the lines of Mirza Ghalib:

"Is he likely to listen to my story? Especially when it is I who tell the story!

We do not understand what advantage is derived by drawing a distinction between Brahmans and non-Brahmans. Both of them are from the same bag. Now observe carefully that, at the present moment the Government rests upon the shoulders of the Hindus:- The Judicial Secretary is a Hindu. The Advocate-General is a Hindu. The Councillor is a Hindu. The Assistant Commissioner and the Vice-Chancellor of the University are both Hindus. The corporation is going to be cast in the same mould. Mr. Vijayaraghavachari will be appointed vice. Mr. Colony(sic) Mr. Serinivas will be the Engineer and Mr. Ananda Paul will be the Revenue officer. In addition to al this Dr. Ragavandra Rao is already the Health officer. It is, as t were, that the four wheels of the Madras Municipal motor are Hindus. As we have pointed out above the funnels, masts and flags of the executive ship of the Government of Madras are all Hindu. In these circumstances how can it be expected that the weak voice of Muhammadans will reach the ears of the authorities? Even if it should reach them what guarantee is there that it will produce any effect? Evident causes and

potents have placed Muhammadans in a dangerous position. Among Mussalmans themselves a party has arisen that forbids them to take a firm stand on the rock of their nationality. If the English themselves pay no attention, a general complaint would be out of place. It is only those who have seen their past glories and ancient greatness in Europe and Asia are capable of showing a little sympathy (with Mussalmans.)

Mussalmans! Observe what you are coming to in this country and how you are being deprived of your rights. Either secure a patron or enjoy the sweets of office. Or devise lawful means of turning the attention of the authorities towards justice. How long are you going to patiently suppress your feelings? Self-interest and self-control are both necessary in the world.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 14TH APRIL 1917.

No. 15 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(d) Education.

4. New India, of the 7th April, has the following:-

Missionary schools.

"A parent complains that the headmaster of a Church Missionary Society High School at Srivilliputtur 'hurls in the course of every Bible class groundless and unintelligible criticisms not only on Mrs. Besant's speeches, but on the value of Hinduism and image worship, and also against the orthodox Hindu parents of the pupils concerned, ... The 'parent' further complains that the missionary head-master's diatribes wean the boys away from 'reason, religion and obedience to parents.' That is our main objection to missionary schools; they promote scepticism and insubordination; when the missionary has destroyed the boy's belief in his ancestral religion, he loses belief in all religions; when his reverence for and obedience to his parents are killed, reverence for and obedience to his teacher follow. Then the missionary, having ruined the foundation of character, complains that the boys are insubordinate, because they read New India!"

(k) General.

22. In a leader under the heading "the Coming Fight with Lancashire", the Indian Patriot,

The Indian cotton duties.

of the 9th April, states:- "The comments of the British Press on the Indian cotton import duty enable us to realise, to some extent, the enormity of the step taken by the Government of India in striking at Lancashire. . . . . .We thought that whatever might be the attitude of the Anglo-Indian politicians towards India during the war, thar of the British People would most surely display a new angle of vision. We are most grievously disappointed. This attitude of the British public in England is, to us, fraught with great misgiving. The few who now remember us, on account of the part that we have taken in the war will soon forget it when the war is over. . . . . .If even liberal newspapers of the political principles of the Daily News would forget the three hundred millions of India and remember only the few thousand spindles and factories in Lancashire, we must look forward to a terrible situation in the near future . . . .The talk of small nationalities, the virtuous indignation against the unrighteous aggression of a great power, the sympathy towards a people striving to build up their country into something greater, all evaporate when personal convenience and profits are touched. . . . . .We are inclined to take a very gloomy view of the situation. . . . . Even during the war, when the submarine senseation is at

its highest and the call is ringing in the air for a million men more, Lancashire has not hesitated to forget the Kaiser and turn against Meyer. . . . . It is for the Government of India to anticipate the Lancashire agitation and begin the work of resisting even now. . . . . .It lies with the Government of India to change the angle of vision. And whether it will do it or not depends upon whether it understands us aright. We have, of course, not much hope if Indian representation should be received as the Press Deputation was received by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, to the sound of the lute and the guitar from the Anglo-Indian camp."

A Defence of India Act case in Bombay.

23. The following appears in New India, of the 9th April:- "We have printed several petitions from poor Mr. Totiram Panjumal, the aged father of a young man named Jawhermal, and we print another. He has taken the M.A. degree, and bears a high character by the testimony of respectable men and officials. He has been kept untried in Poona gaol for two and a half years. Does Lord Willingdon really believe that he is acting like an Englishman, or behaving justly, in inflicting by his own power, without trial, this heavy sentence of long imprisonment on an untried man? We know, however, that he is deaf to all appeals."

The Indian National Congress.

30. Referring to the decision of the All-India Congress Committee to hold the 1917 session

in Calcutta, and to send a Deputation to England, the Wednesday Review, for the week ending 11th April, remarks:- "There are reasons why the 1917 session of the Indian National Congress which is to meet in ~~Ceylon-~~ Calcutta for the seventh time should prove a great success, greater far than any that had till now met there. For one thing, Bengal which had given place to a new cult of revolutionary propaganda which threatened to develop into an anarchical movement by the persistent agitation of a handful of irresponsible and irrepressible agitators whose names are only too notorious to need mention here, has veered round to the cause of sane agitation by the combined effect of the mellowing influence of time and the proofs of readiness which the Government has shown to respond to reasonable popular demands. . . . . .If any substantial reform is to be obtained it can be obtained only from the hands of the British Democracy without whose co-operation even a well-meaning bureaucfacy cannot do much here. Englishmen at home are likely to take a broader view of things Indian than the man on the spot, and he looks more to the spirit than to the letter of the Charters, Proclamations, and Acts of Parliament ensuring our enfranchisement. Happily the Englishman is giving up his proverbial indifference and is beginning to understand India."

31. The Indian Patriot, of the 11th April, writes:-

The demand for self-government.

"From Allahabad comes the report of a very successful public meeting in which Mr. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Tej Bahadur Supru, and Mr.

Srinivasa Sastri took part. The demand was for a definite pronouncement on self-government for India in a not very distant future. . . . . .We would like to know exactly what the authorities think or propose to do. . . . . .In the face of such clear pronouncements, incessantly coming from responsible quarters all over India, we ask whether it is not time that a pronouncement were made on the lines suggested by Sir S.P. Sinha in his address as the President of the Indian National Congress. Not only is there uncertainty but positive suspicion whether the angle of vision has at all changed. . . . . .The situation is frankly discouraging, and advocates of moderation in political agitation are themselves losing faith and fear that after all self-government might be treated as a distant goal."

Writing on this subject, Justice, of the 12th April, says:- "It is not only we in Madras and Bombay, but people in Upper India as well that are coming slowly to realise the dangers of plunging the country into a premature Home Rule agitation . . . .
The Hon'ble Raja Kushal Pal Singh of Agra is circulating a 'Review of the Reform Memorandum' as the basis for an anti-Home Rule manifesto. He characterises the memorandum as 'foolish' and asks 'how far these signatories have been influenced in their action by considerations that must be regarded as entirely personal and temporary.' . . . . .In every province

of India the bulk of the population know nothing of what is said and done in their name by self-sufficient politicians. In point of general enlightenment Madras is certainly ahead of most other provinces of India, and this is why in this Presidency protests against the Home Rule propaganda have been so early made."

34. The following appears in the Indian Patriot of the 12th April:- "One reason why Indians should not be entrusted with positions of trust and responsibility is newly discovered by a valued correspondent of the Indiaman. We are told that the Indian oligarchy would not only be interested in maintaining for his own lifetime the power and prestige of the oligarchy; he would look forward to providing for his children under its wing. He would expect is to feed his poor relatives. . . . . We think those who oppose the grant of self-government to India must seriously think of other methods of opposing it than holding up the apparition of caste or the opposition of any imaginary section of the people. No one is enamoured of his own backwardness; no one likes to grope in misery and ignorance, and self-government is demanded by the educated people not that they might enjoy power and authority, but that they might advance the progress of the country more rapidly than the British officials are able to do. Foolish arguments like these against self-government will only have the effect of driving even those who are for self-government by and by,

Indians and positions of trust.

into the camp of the extremists. The goal,--and not a distant but a near enough goal--is self-government. It is time that Britishers made an earnest attempt to preserve the fair name of Britain by training themselves to the thought of India obtaining self-government at not a very distant date."

IV. Native States.

40. The Indian **Patriot**, of the 10th April, states:-

Indian Princes and postwar reforms.

"Like the people of India, the Princes of India, too, have their own aspirations, and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir gave expression to his feelings in a remarkable interview to a London newspaper. . . . . .Such of the British officers who flatter the Princes in the hope that they might be buffers between Indian nationalism and the bureaucracy would be sadly disillusioned, we are sure, by the remarks of His Highness. . . . . .The expression of Indian aspirations outside the States has more readily found an echo in them than in British India. Popular suspicion is that the development of Indian States is discouraged by Civilian officers; Cochin, at least, it is said, might have had a Council form of Government today if the Madras Government had not interfered. Already it has become the fashion to compare the rapid progress in the States with British India. . . . . In other words, the Princes of India exactly want what the people of India have been wanting--self-government. They do not want constant interference at all. They do not want to see the Civilian Collector or District Judge suddenly installing himself in the Residency as a god which

even they have to worship. Except as a clerk who forwards correspondence to the Government, they do not want a Resident. . . . . .Mischievous elements in the States are accustomed to bite the ears of Residents even as against the Princes; the impression is that the Resident is more powerful than the Prince, and that the Prince has to take orders from the Resieent. This position is intolerable. . . . . . . .Coming from an Indian Prince of the position of the Maharaja of Bikanir, these sentiments are remarkable, and even to the blindest Anglo-Indian must be enough evidence of the intense popular feeling for self-government. Will this feeling be ignored? Or will it be duly taken note of and find acknowledgment in quite other ways than we have yet evidence of? Upon the answer to that question depends the claim for statesmanship of the British officers responsible for the Government of India."

Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

54. The Andhrapmakasika, of the 7th April, says:-

The C.I.D. and Lord Carmichael.

Finding that Lord Carmichael was talking with persons who were suspected by the Police, the authorities appointed a Civilian officer to whatch him. He used to go to His Excellency's house often. Knowing this Lord Carmichael began to talk with a

suspected person one day just when the Civilian officer came to his house. The officer found that His Excellency did so in order to ridicule him, and went away in shame. Lord Carmichael used to say now and then that he was also watched by the C.I.D.

55. Under this heading and with the prefatory note, "The following strange story is published by the Amrita Bazaar Patrika, relating to Lord Carmichael. We do not know how far it may be believed, but the Amrita Bazaar Patrika states that it has been received from a reliable source", the Desamata, of the 4th April, publishes the story about Lord Carmichael, and the Civilian spy set upon him by "the Great gods of Simla", which has already been abstracted from the Andhraprakasika of the 7th April in this report.

A strange story.

(k) General.

76. Referring to the complaint made by a planter, in an article contributed to the Ceylon Times, regarding the necessity for more rigorous laws controlling the Tamil coolies in the Malay States, the Swadesamitran, of the 30th March, observes:- His complaints are in effect that these rules are not sufficiently rigorous, that the present supervision of the coolies by the Government is favourable to the coolies only, that they freely leave one plantation for another and that though some people regard them to be ignorant men, they really understand things and have their own notions of independence. If these rules should be made

Complaints of a planter.

more rigorous, should not those regulating the conduct of the planters in their relations with the coolies be made more rigorous too? It is the popular cry that the supervision of the coolies by the Government should be conducted on a more liberal principle. We grant that the coolies should work properly. But will they change from plantation to plantation frequently, if the conditions of work, wages and facilities afforded to them are satisfactory? Again the planter in question seems to have failed to understand that the coolies not being fools is an advantage to the plantation only. We believe he is a European, and is aware of the great influence, support and rights enjoyed by the labouring classes in the western countries. While, so, this planter cannot expect his complaint to meet with support from the public here when it is urged against the similar rights of the coolies.

77. Referring to an article contributed to the New Statesman of London on this subject by one who is characterised as belonging to the class of politicians who do not in the least support the views of Mr. Curtis and his party nor fully support the views of Indians, the Swadesamitran, of the 31st March, observes:--

Administrative reforms in India.

He says that the members of the Indian Civil Service can no longer carry on the administration of India, that the educated Indians set up a keen competition with the civilians and demand the highest posts to be given to them, and that the authorities find themselves in the unsatisfactory position of sitting in judgment over themselves in the matter; to wit, the question whether a post till now occupied by a member of the civil service may be given to an Indian is to be decided by the civilian members themselves in the Executive Council. Among other

reasons for this statement, he mentions that the Government being composed of foreigners, they are unable to help to advance social reforms; and again he says that, on the one hand, very large amounts are required for utilising the natural resources of the country and improving its economic dondition, and, on the other hand, the authorities are afraid of being blamed if they should impose taxes and therefore refrain from doing so, and that this will give room for being stated later that the Civilians did not discharge their duty properly. He admits that reforms have to be made in the administration, but thinks that India is not fit for self-government, and the reasons he gives for it are not admissible. He says that the number of educated Indians is small; but do not a few Englishmen now rule the country? Why should not a few Indians equally qualified do so too? Then he says that this country has a vast population and is extensive in area, but its revenues are inadequate; also that if the Indians obtain authority, they would seek to make it descent to their children as well. But the Indians have served as Diwans of many States; what have they done to serve the interests of their families there? Is not such a thing to be found, again, in England? Was there not a complaint of nepotism last year against the Judges there? Another reason adduced by the correspondent against self-government for India is that, if it should be granted, the question arises as to whether the army should be under the control of the Government of India or that of the British Empire, and that in the latter case, the British Empire may not be satisfied with protecting India with that army, as it is possible that she will dislike the actions of the Government of India. But did not the Imperial army

protect South Africa when, some years ago, the whole world hated its actions? Why should occasions arise for the Empire to hate India's actions? It is certain that, if India has self-government, all the other parts of the Empire will seek to be on friendly relations with her in their own interests. Again, he says that self-governing India may go forward or it may happen that she enters into internal warfare or engages in a war with other countries. It may happen, indeed, if India be separated from the empire without any connection whatever with her. But we do not ask for such a separation. Australia enjoys self-government, but if she did not form part of the empire, she should stand in great danger from Japan and other countries. If each one of the countries forming part of the empire is so separated, the strength of the empire itself will be weakened. Then again he observes that the increase in the number of representative Members in the Legislative Councils will only give more opportunities for condemning the actions of the Government, but will be productive of no good. We, however, do not simply ask for an increase in the number of these, but wish that the Government should necessarily act in accordance with the resolutions of these Councils. Lastly, with regard to the reforms to be introduced in the Legislative Councils and the Executive Councils, he supports the demands that we ourselves make. He argues like us that in future the Civilians should not act independently and without holding themselves responsible to the representatives of India, and also that in the Executive Councils men coming direct from England should sit with Indians as Members, and that Civilians should not find place in them at all. We appreciate the views given expression to by him.

94. The Swadesamitran, of the 3rd April, publishes an extract in Tamil from the Truth in which the letter written by Mr. Curtis from the United Provinces is criticised and the attention of the Secretary of State for India invited to the part taken by Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris in the matter of that letter, which that paper characterizes as an indiscreet and inconsiderate action.

The scheme of Mr. Curtis.

95. Referring to the question asked in the Legislative Council that orders may be issued to the Collector of Ramnad district for licenses being renewed or granted to persons applying for the same, when there are sufficient reasons for granting them, and to the reply given on behalf of the Government to the effect that it was not necessary to impose a restriction on the discretionary powers of that officer, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd April, remarks:- When licenses are refused to be renewed, proper reasons should be given to the applicants for the refusal. As for the question regarding the number of cases of refusal, the reply was that particulars were not known to the Government. The question must have been asked by the Honourable Member because of the prevalance of complaints among the people of that district in this matter. If the Madras Government knew how the people are urging everywhere that the application of the Arms Act is a blot on their loyalty and that therefore it should be repealed altogether, such a reply would not have been given by them.

The application of the Arms Act.

96. Referring to a resolution moved and passed in the Legislative Council of the United

Report of the Public Services Commission.

Provinces to the effect that that Government should, before making their recommendations to the Government of India on this report, take into consultation public bodies such as the Congress Committee and the Muslim League, the Swadesamitran, of the 4th April, looks forward to a similar policy being adopted by the Madras Government also.

100. The Andhrapatrika, of the 7th April, reports the Amrita Bazaar Patrika to have said,

Lord Carmichael.

while referring to the Criminal Investigation Department officer "appointed to watch Lord Carmichael", that what the spy reported to the Government at Simla was still a secret.

103. Referring to the opposition of the Lancashire merchants to the enhancement

The enhanced import duty on cotton goods.

of the import duty in India on their goods and their cornering the British Ministers to such an extent that the latter were forced to agree to reconsider the matter in the Imperial Conference the Vaisyamitran, of the 26th March, observes:- When eminent statesmen who are the foremost men in the British Empire, are conducting affairs like this with an eye upon their own interest and without bestowing the least thought on the interests of India, we cannot but regard their laudatory references to the help rendered by India in this war as no more than empty words. We think it would have been better if the gift promised by India had not been accepted by the Parliament,

as was threatened by the Lancashire merchants. It will take many years to recoup 150 crores of rupees. If, at the time when the question of continuing the existing enhanced duty on foreign cotton goods is considered by the Imperial Conference, its continuance is not approved, the whole burden of this gift made by India will fall on her. Even if the enhanced duty is continued, it will become a burden only upon the Indians; for it is they that have to purchase the Manchester cloths at an increased price. Thus, India will have to suffer until she has full liberty in the matter of her finance. This at least will give an impetus for the improvement of the industries of our country, in view to our future.

106. The Swadesamitran, of the 5th April, reports a case of one Mr. J.C. Bourne, Assistant

Sued for pardon.

Commissioner of the Central Provinces, having taken offence at a Barrister of the place by name Abhayankar, while travelling in a train, after having himself given cause for offence, and subsequently having tendered his apology to the Barrister, and observes that it is praiseworthy for the Assistant Commissioner to have apologised on reconsideration. The paper trust that the officers of the Indian Civil Service will realise this fact, and/will not so forget the way in which they should conduct themselves towards others.

108. In a leader under this head, the Swadesamitran, of the 7th April, observes:- It is

Elevation of the depressed classes.

known to all that the depressed classes of our country mostly

do coolie work, and that they spend away on drink what they could save. It is being urged as a remedy for this evil that tea and coffee should be caused to be sold in various places and the toddy shops removed from the way through which the coolies pass from work, and there is no doubt that if this principle is widely adopted, much good will result from it. In the matter of saving them from the drink evil and in affording ~~aff~~ facilities to them to save money and to purchase house, etc., with it, it is not the Government alone, but the employers also, that should take the necessary steps. In the western countries, there are special laws and regulations for facilitating poor men to purchase houses, etc. The Government also are rendering the help they ought to do. We will positively say that there are not as many of these facilities here as there are in the western countries.

112. The Andhrapatrika, of the 7th April, refers to an announcement in the Parliament about the system of indentured labour, is gratified that the opinion of Mr. Chamberlain has so soon changed, and hopes that being influenced by the Colonial authorities he will not revive the system.

Indentured labour.

116. The Andhraprakasika, of the 7th April, says:- The conduct of a certain Customs Collector in the South Africa reminds us of Muhammad Bin Toglak. Certain Indians were leaving South Africa for Bombay. When they went on board the ship, they were required to exchange their gold coins for treasury notes. The officers took them from the steamer to the Court and from the Court to the steamer many times, and then began to issue notes in

South African Toglak.

return for gold coins. The notes were soon exhausted and the officers were helpless. Perhaps like Toglak, they did not coin leather money. When the head-quarters of the Durban district is transferred to another place in the same way as Delhi was transferred to Devagiri, leather coins may also come into existence.

118. Under this heading, the Andhraprakasika, of the

The Imperial War Conference.

7th April, says:- From the speeches made in London by Sir S.P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir, it is plain that India will certainly be benefited by their representation. Instead of discouraging them, it will be well to encourage them with the hope that they will surely do everything for India. We are fortunate inasmuch as Mrl Chamberlain who is deemed to be lacking in his knowledge of Indian affairs is determined to maintain the honour of our country. At the end of a dinner given in his honour, he made a very good speech. His opinions have changed, and such a sympathetic man can never do any harm. We may now rest contented.

119. While commenting upon the speech of the President

The Eleventh Godavari District Conference.

of the Conference, the Andhrapatrika, of the 6th April, observes:- Self-government is the key to all political problems, local, provincial or pertaining to all India. "Self-government is the natural form; other forms of government are not natural. Self-government is God-ordained; other forms of government are man-made. Every State must look after its government, and forecast its future." From these words of the President it is clear that self-government is a natural order of things, and dependence is unnatural. The people are asking

the British rulers to establish this natural state, as in the Colonies. With it come all other facilities such as the separation of the executive and the judicial functions, and compulsory elementary education. The arguments against self-government are two. The first is "India does not in a body ask for self-government." . . . . .Have the Russians unanimously asked for the Russian revolution? It is absurd that foreigners have greater sympathies for the"well-being of the masses of India", than their fellow countrymen. The second is that "we lack the capacity for self-government". This has to be tested by giving us actual experience. Granting that we lack the capacity it devolves upon Government to develop it in us. Statesmen know by experience the truth of the President's statement that "self-government is the training ground for the acquisition of self-governing capacity." No race was born with a knowledge of government; races have acquired it by experience. . . . . .We have many reasons for concentrating all our thoughts on the ideal of self-government. A change has come over political atmosphere on account of the war. . . . . .The President's analogy of "the child of stunted growth" to India of the present day, and that of the child of healthy growth to the Phillippines are apt. His analogy and description relating to the former gives a vivid picture of the helplessness induced by dependence: "No great soul is to be seen who can free that helpless child from perpetual bondage." The Philippines have been but fifteen years under the American rule, and have so soon won liberty and independence and are develpping. The English must rule India following the example of "the liberal-minded Americans". The intention of the British rule is the

granting of complete self-government to India. The opinions of Macaulay and Hastings are in support of this. The English must grant self-government to India if only to safeguard their own well-being. So long as India is in a dependent condition, she cannot be a source of strength to the empire." The President has ably reviewed the report of the Public Services Commission. . . . . Keeping political reasons in view the Commission decided that the British should occupy high positions. "We do not, hereafter, accept any qualifications for preferment other than efficiency and honesty" These words of the President comprise all the legitimate aspirations of the Indians. What Indians want is a safe-guarding of their natural rights and not the securing of special advantages. About the non-Brahman movement the President has rightly observed that when a house is on fire all must join to quench it, and should not mind internal feuds.

The same paper publishes extracts from the presidential address above referred to which contain besides the portions quoted above, the following: "However good a Government may be it cannot come up to self-government."

"As to our lack of capacity for self-government, how can we learn swimming if we roll on sands? This is something like the common saying "His madness cannot be cured unless he is married, and he cannot be married unless he is cured of his madness.' We cannot learn self-government unless self-government is granted, and Government will not grant us self-government unless we have learnt to govern ourselves. If we are unfit for self-government, the British rule is responsible for it. Which country has shown its fitness before

gaining swaraj? Australia, Russia and the Philippines are cases in point. . . . . .Will Government give effect after the war to the aspirations of the Indians, embodied in the memorandum of the nineteen and affirmed by the National Congress and the Moslem League? Government must give a proper reply. . . . . .The people of the Philippines have already had more rights and privileges than those demanded by the National Congress. . . . . .America undertakes their defence without charging a pie, while the Indian army consumes literally, 'eats away' a third of the revenue of India. . . . . .The people of the Philippines have powers to elect their Governors, and we have no power to elect even our village headman.. . . . . .Our municipal councils do not contain more than five or six per cent of Indian members while the corresponding percentage is 75 in the Philippines. We cannot have an Indian Chief Justice, except for some months, while the Philippines enjoy a perpetual privilege in this matter. . . . . . . .The report of the Public Services Commission is disappointing, and entirely opposed to the wishes of the people. . . . . It raised among the educated, but has not fulfilled, the hope that the rulers would no longer keep 'the Indians as their servants'. . . . . It is the want of facilities for Indians gaining admission to high posts, that is the cause of the unrest in the country. . . . . .Our chief desire is that only Indians must be appointed to officers' posts. Our idea is that non-Indians must, as far as possible, be removed from offices and Indians appointed instead.

"Our request in the matter of simultaneous examination is just. Would the English like the suggestion that they should undergo an examination in India for being appointed to offices in England. The Hon'ble Justice Abdur Rahim has criticised the defects in this examination.

"The recommendation of the Public Services Commission that Indians should hold positions subordinate to the English who are not acquainted with our history, traditions, language or customs, in Civil Service and the Police department is opposed to the royal proclamation and the Act of 1833, inasmuch as it lays down that race preference is alone the qualification for preferment.. . . . . .It is difficult to bear to see western scholars, who have no knowledge of Sanskrit or eastern languages, imported, as if pandits are not available in India.

130. On this subject, a correspondent to the Desamata, of the 4th April, writes:- How can we declare as necessary, this expenditure on the part of the Madras Government who are advocates of popular rights and who act up to popular wishes? Whatever may be the number of papers required for the officials, the expenditure of Rs.40,000 on this account does not appear to be proper. This may be considerably reduced. While it is so, the expenditure under this head this year shows an increase of Rs.4,000 on that for the past year. There is no knowing how much it may grow at this rate.

Aid to papers.

A British Official's instructive behaviour.

141. (Third Para)

The Kasim-ul-Adhbar, of the 2nd March, has an extract from the Sadik-ul-Akhbar on the same subject which is to the following effect:- The 26th of March was a day of appalment for the Bengalees, for on that day Lord Carmichael's gubernatorial sun set for ever. The Government of Bengal was no bed of roses. Bengal had an evil reputation for sedition, but Lord Carmichael, with his foresight, sympathy and genuine desire to help the people, won the hearts of all classes. He used to give opportunities for representing grievances and then privately found out the facts. Moreover he mixed freely with the people in such a manner as made the Bengalees look upon him as their own father. Even if a man returned unsuccessful from his door, he was not aggrieved, but he felt a real satisfaction that his Lordship had given him a hearing. There were continually cases of dacoity and murder, but this could not cause His Excellency to swerve from his purpose. His idea always was that innocent people should not be made to suffer for the sins of a few seditious, shortsighted and misguided individuals. He always gave instructions to the responsible officers of Government to endeavour to establish friendly relations between the police and the people. The memory

of such acts of friendship and kindness is not easily effaced from the minds of the people, nay it will remain green for ever.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 21ST APRIL 1917.

No. 16 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General.

The situation in Bengal.

5. The Indian Patriot, of the 14th April, states:- "We have heard of anarchy in Bengal; we have heard of political agitation in Bengal, but now we hear authoritatively from the Government that there has been a 'revolutionary movement in Bengal.' The name is a little too big for the manifestations of rowdyism among ill-trained and ill-advised youths. We wonder why the Government should be so anxious to glorify the misdirected youths as revolutionaries. No one, except of course some Englishmen, who pretend to know India more than Indians, can seriously speak about a revolutionary movement in Bengal, with the object of overthrowing the British Raj in India. We admit that some young men did think such thoughts, and we have no doubt that in house searches documents might have been seized that would led colour to such a movement. But does this constitute a revolutionary movement? We strongly object to such language in official documents like the Calcutta Gazette, as the existence of revolutionary movements in India, at a later time, might be utilised against the grant of any political concessions to India."

6. The Indian Patriot, of the 14th April, observes:-

The demand for self-government.

"We are afraid that, after his rather violent outburst against the Press Deputation, there will be less inclination to value the Viceregal expressions of sympathy. . . . . .We confess we cannot attach the least importance or value to expressions of sympathy hedged around with warnings . . . . .A pronouncement by the Government that it works for the purpose of entrusting the Government of the country to the people will surely be received with some satisfaction. There is no need for such secrecy about the recommendation of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, and absolutely no necessity for the warning that we are not going to get all that we want. Addressed to those who demand self-government to-day, the Viceroy's words have a meaning; but if it is a reply to the demands put forth by the members of the Viceroy's Council, it is utterly disappointing indeed. These demands are not on the oriental system of sale--to ask for much more in the hope of getting something near the real value. These demands are very modest and are the least that can be granted to a people so earnest as Indians are, and who have shown themselves to advantage during the present war."

7. The Non-Brahman for the week ending 15th April,

Caste distinction in Calicut.

remarks:- "It seems that after all Mrs. Besant is a real prophet, for she said that the

bureaucrats are afraid of the Brahmans, and she is right. The Brahmans of Calicut have made the Malabar Congress Committee a Home Rule body, and invited Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar to preside over the Malabar Conference. The bureaucrats are thus all the more afraid of them. And when they asked that the Tiyyas--the class of people who are shedding their blood for the King--should not be allowed on the King's highway, for the Brahmans say that the Tiyyas belong to the depressed classes, and thus their very approach is pollution! And so instead of the Brahmans trying to protect his soul by flying away from the approach of the Thiyya, the Thiyya is asked to keep out. The Brahmans express the wish and the bureaucrats carries it out. And to-day, the Thali Road in Calicut is closed to the Thiyyas, and His Majesty's Police is posted there to see to it!

"Well, it is for the Thiyyas to be up and doing. They might petition to the Government--in vain. Every caste that treats the Thiyya with contempt must be treated with equal contempt by the Thiyyas, and the next time a Brahman is seen near a Thiyya temple cry out and ask the Policeman to march the polluting Brahman out of reach of temple. This is a challenge to the self-respect of the community from the Brahmin and the Goverment, and if the community will not take it up, why it must go down as depressed classes. Let the telegrams fly about, let Thiyyas in Government service apply for leave and let a hundred of them, influential and high, go to Mr. Gillman at Ootacamund and say that this scandal shall cease. Do not take these insults lying down. The Government ought not to be guilty of setting up one class against another."

11. In a leader on this subject, Justice, of the 16th April, says:-

British pro-Consuls and Indian critics.

"The retirement of Lord Carmichael from the Governorship of Bengal and the arrival of Lord Ronaldshay, his successor, at Calcutta, have been the occasion for a number of newspapers in India to comment on Indian Governorships and the method of their selection. . . . . Our Madras contemporary the Hindu also writes on the subject and complains of the selection of Indian Governors without consulting the wishes of the people of India. Our contemporary says, "the office of Governor like many others which are filled by nomination is awarded on consideration quite apart from the fitness or capacity of the nominee for the office.' That is quite so, and in all probability will continue to be so as long as human nature remains what it is. No one has pretended that Indian Viceroys and Governors are selected specially for their capacity for administering an oriental people. Favouritism plays a predominant part in the selection, chance a small part. It is a big lottery where prizes are few and the blanks are many. Madras had fared very badly in the lottery having, perhaps, drawn practically no prize at all. We have been told by an elderly public man that, since the days of the Duke of Buckingham, Madras has had no good Governor at all. We don't remember the days of the Duke of Buckingham. In his days we were at school somewhere in the vicinity of the infant standard.

But we do remember many of the Duke of Buckingham's successors. They were bad, and no mistake about it. The present writer has had to play the unpleasant part of acting as a candid critic of more than one Governor of Madras. We are afraid that the chances of change are not very promising. To begin with promising statesmen in England don't, as a rule, care to come out as Indian administrators. The present writer remembers having a talk with a prominent Liberal Member of Parliament at the time when Sir Henry Norman had declined the Indian Viceroyalty and a fresh nomination had not been made. Some o f the newspapers in England had suggested the name of Sir Edward Grey who was then Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs and been in office only for a very short time. The present writer asked a Member of Parliament who happened to be a personal friend of Sir Edward Grey as to what Sir Edward's chances were for the Indian Viceroyalty. 'He would get the place if he wanted it' replied the Member of Parliament; 'but he would be a foot to accept it. His chances are far too brilliant at Home to be sacrificed for an Indian Viceroyalty'., If that is the view that politicians take at Home, it stands to reason that we can only expect second and third rate men from England."

12. In a leader on this subject, the Hindu, o the 16th April, says:-

British policy in India.

"The controversy that raged over the new Indian cotton duties and the historic debate that took place in the Houses of Parliament recently, have sought to bring up the question of self-government for India in a manner which few problems have ever done before - - - - - - - -

The friends and representatives of Lancashire, many of whom are Liberals, and are known to sympathise with the Indian demands for constitutional reforms, adopted a line of reasoning which can only be the outcome of a conflict in their minds between the forces of selfishness and those of enlightened interest for the establishment and consolidation of representative institutions.... ....There can be no question as to the justice of the case for the new duties, and it is hardly disputed that the agitation against them was got up in the selfish interests of Lancashire. In these circumstances, while we are ready to grant that the delicate situation in which Liberals of Lancashire and their friends found themselves we cannot but protest against the assumption that the measure which was necessitated by the state of Indian revenues, should not have been decided upon simply because a part of England was affected by it. . . . . .We have also seen it stated that the raising of this controversy at this time by the present Cabinet and the reduction of the profits of Lancashire manufacturers resulting therefrom, are likely to damp their zeal for the cause of Indian emanicipation. We do not think we need take account of this unworthy suggestion. It is difficult to believe that the sympathy and good will of these friends of India are so evanescent in their nature as to vanish at the first touch of adversity, and placed as India is, the fight for constitutional freedom has to be carried on in spite of such reverseas of fortune."

Indian Patriot, of the 16th April, writes:- "English newspapers continue to give larger space to India than they have been ever known to give because of the blow to Lancashire. We sent our men to fight, we paid our money freely and without stint, but except some passing references, we had not this unique privilege of being the topic of comment in every newspaper of importance. We now understand, plainly indeed, that after the war, v very strenuous efforts will be made to undo what Lancashire considers a harm to her interests, and we have repeated before, and we repeat it again, that it would be a proclamation of a new policy towards India if this bare act of justice, long delayed, should be cancelled so that Lancashire may keep India as a dumping ground for its products. We are surprised that the selfish merchants should have so much influence over the British statesmen engaged in suppressing German selfishness. At a time when the world is fighting German agfression, we have the miserable picture coming from Lancashire of an equally aggressive attitude towards India.. . . . . It is for those who are responsible for the Government of India to see that Lancashire does not win. It is not a question at issue between the Bombay mill-owner and the Lancashire mill-owner; it is a question whether England keeps India for the benefit of Indians or for the benefit of Englishmen."

17. The Indian Patriot, of the 17th April, writes:-

The Indian National Congress.

"The news that the All-India Congress

Committee has resolved upon a deputation to England, that the personnel of the deputation has been settled, and that they are to start by the end of next month has naturally upset the well-known friends of India in the Anglo-Indian camp, who, of course, in their concern for the welfare of the people, especially the masses, have taken it upon themselves to keep a special watch over us. A deputation of Indian politicians to England to speak on the need for self-government, when the Prime Minister is calling upon the people to eat less, to forego all luxury and concentrate their forces on the war, is rather unthinkable to some of them. We have not yet heard, but we are sure to hear of it, that in these days of short tonnage, the speace filled by the deputation in a steamer might, with better advantage, be filled by hides and skins . . . . What can these politicians do? To speak effectively and to convince the British democracy, they must speak of the splendid part prayed by India. The only circumstance that has brought India to the very heart of the British people is the part we have played in the war. The politician will have to exploit it. What will this be except bargaining for loyalty? And it will be the turn of Lord Sydenham and the hounds in the press which answer to his whistle to say that those who have shed their blood are quite different from these chatterboxes, that the Sikh and the Gurkha are never so happy as when they take their orders from the British. Unfortunately for them, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir has said some unpleasant things about the desire of the people, but it can either be explained away or ignored. . . . . They are irresponsible politicians who are eager to clutch at power for the purpose of oppressing those below them.

The deputation of some of our well-known men to England is born out of the womb of suspicion engendered by this attitude. We consider this the supreme moment in the life of our nation, and if to-day, owing to any neglect in our part to dispel misrepresentation, India is ignored in the coming readjustment of the British Empire and of the world, our responsibility will be heavy indeed. . . . . .The people of India stand convinced that they are fully prepared to do what the foremost people of the world have been found to do during the war. We want opportunities. The deputation will tell Mr. Churchill who is clamouring for the development of the man-power of India, that he can easily have many millions provided India is handled differently. The deputation goes to England not that Sir Kishna Gupta might be appointed Governor of Bengzl, but to tell Britain how India could have done much more if only the Government had confidence in the people and had handled them as Mr. Lloyd George is handling the English people. The deputation is a protest against the Chelmsford warnings and the Sydenham threats. It goes to England to tell the British that the Indian as a statesman is as anxious for an opportunity to serve the empire as the Indian as a soldier, and that, in a short time, a very short time, the Indian Empire would be e equal to five German Empires if only the wealth and resources of India.-after all the people of a country are its greatest wealth--are utilised as the Indian statesmen would utilise them."

The Hindu, of the 20th April, remarks:- "We learn that many of the gentlemen appointed by the All-India Congress Committee to constitute the Indian deputation to England in connection with the post-war reforms, had not been consulted previous to their nomination and it is very uncertain as to whether any among them and who will be able to undertake the work. It is very regrettable that a more business-like method was not adopted by the Committee in such an important matter. Some of the names in the list are of those who are extremely unlikely to be willing to undertake the onerous work, and the futility of appointing men to engage in national work of high importance without ascertaining beforehand their willingness and physical capacity to discharge the same, is perfectly obvious."

Justice, of the 20th April, states:-

"Do Congressmen in India really think that the British public, absorbed in a life-and-death struggle, will now turn a moment's thought to the Indian Home Rule cry or to the memorandum of the infallible nineteen. Their credulity must be irrepressible indeed if they really believe it. In Great Britain these are days of stocial self-denial, rigorous self-sacrifice and unprecedented concentration of effort. One thought alone dominates the public mind, and strictly speaking that thought should also, to a large extent, influence the conduct of the educated classes in this country. . . . . .We repeat we doubt very much whether this is the proper time for sending a Congress deputation to Great Britain for agitating for self-government."

Representation in the Public Services.

19. Justice, of the 18th April, observes:- "We have already published figures showing how andd in what proportion appointments carrying with them a certain salary and above are distributed in some of the public departments under the Madras Government, and we hope to be able to take the remaining departments one after the other. . . . . .What is noteworthy in most of these cases is that the disparity has not all been due to the presence or absence of educational qualifications. Noh-Brahman Hindus, Muhammadans and Indian Christians possess as good educational qualifications for the appointments in question as the Brahmans, and yet the bulk of the places are held by the latter class. This cannot be the result of chance. It has something more subtle and significant behind it, and unless the non-Brahman Hindus, Christians and Muhammadans assert their rights, there will possibly be no material improvement. . Before long attempts will be made to call the attention of the highest British authorities to what has been the practice in the Madras Presidency. We should like to know what use has been made of the special abilities of the various communities in this part of India. Why is it that in spite of the requisite educational qualifications most of the communities among us are but singularly poorly represented in the Public Service? There is something wrong somewhere and general statements such as those made by the Viceroy at Lahore convey no meaning to us. Public declarations of universl benevolence are not enough in this Presidency."

20. The Indian Patriot, of the 18th April, states:-

Indians in South Africa.

"South African selfishness is not to be washed away by the blood of the empire. Indian and South African soldiers may fight shoulder to shoulder and fall on the battlefield, but the Indian trader in South Africa is still an object of aversion. The persecution of this unwelcome competitions is proceeding apace, even in spite of the war. . . . . .While the South African representatives in the Imperial War Conference is, perhaps, talking of Imperial obligations and sacrifices, the South African is steadily persisting in his policy of getting rid of the Indian competitor. This is not the first time that we have had to bemoan such selfishness in South Africa even during the war. They are intolerant. They have no higher Imperial conception at all. They live for themselves and would have their Government keep out every obstacle out of their path. We are fighting Germany for betraying such selfishness. The empire surely demands something more than mere consideration of self."

22. Referring to the announcement that a conference

The Indian Emigration Conference in London.

is to meet in London to consider the question of Indian emigration, the Hindu, of the 19th April, says:- "The choice of Mr. Marjoribanks as an expert of the Conference is open to strong objections. His report, as our readers know, is a sorry production, containing a jejune statement of facts and figures most of which could have been collected from available records and reports. It contains no suggestions, advice or criticism. How, then, Mr. Marjoribanks is considered as an expert

on the emigration problem is more than we can understand, unless it be that Members of the Civil Service are taken to be experts on every topic under the sun. The Conference is going to consider an important question affecting Indian labourers, and it is but proper that the Indian view of it should be presented to it. No European could do it half so well as an Indian who is conversant with the details of the problem, and we have no hesitation in saying that the Government have committed a sad mistake in not doing the obvious thing. It was a serious blunder to have selected the personnel of the committee which went to Ceylon and the Straits and by choosing Mr. Marjoribanks to go to London, the Government are seeking to perpetuate that blunder."

India and Empire development.

23. The Hindu, of the 19th April, writes:- "We do not think India can afford to look kindly to the work of the Empire Resources Development Committee. This committee appears to have drawn up a scheme for the establishment of an Imperial Development Board for the scientific development of the resources of the empire. . . . . .What will be the position of India under such a scheme is a question which it behoves us all to ponder over. According to Lord Islington, Under Secretary of State for India, and a Member of the Empire Resources Committee, the whole trend of the Holland Commission's Enquiry was in keeping with the policy of the committee. His Loreship added in the course of an interview that if an Imperial Development Board were established, one of its duties would be to consider and make suggestions regarding the lines on which Indian industrial developmennt should be pursued in the interest of the empire as a whole.

We do not know what this development in the interest of the empire augurs; but of this we have no doubt; that Britain could commit no worse blunder in her Government of India than that of explicitly exploiting this country in the interests of any one except her millions without the willing acquiescence of a self-governing Indian. No more than five days have elapsed since His Excellency Lord Chelmsford assured in all solemnity that the sole object of the appointment of the Industries Commission was to enable Indians to develop industries and benefit by them and now we have it on the authority of the Under Secretary of State for India that the Commission's work was in keeping with the Empire Resources Committee's policy of developing the country in the interest of the empire. The inconsistency between these two statements is not obvious; it lies beneath the surface; and hence it is that the need for vigilance on our part is all the greater. . . . .
It needs no superior intelligence to understand that under such a policy India stands greatly to suffer; and we doubt if any patriotic Indian will seriously assent to such a course. Any sort of pooling of Imperial resources such as is suggested by the committee will result in obvious inequality of sacrifice. The marginal value of money to such a poor country as India is infinitely greater than it is to either Britain or the Dominions, and she cannot justly be called upon to contribute more of her resources unless and until her millions for which so much concern is at times affected by our British and Oversea friends are provided with such necessaries and such comforts as the people in other parts of the empire command."

24. The Hindu, of the 19th April, observes:- "An

Mr. M.K. Gandhi and the Behar Planters.

extraordinary incident, amounting to almost a grave scandal, is reported from a planting district in North Behar where our respected and revered countryman, Mr. M.K. Gandhi, had gone to study the conditions of labour there. . . . . .In the first place, it was extremely silly on the part of the authorities to have dissuaded Mr. Gandhi from the self-imposed task. If his report should be favourable to planters, then it must be to their advantage: if it was not then the interests of the labourers should require a substantial remedy. In either case, the results of Mr. Gandhi's examination of the labour problem on the spot should have gone to advance the interests of good Government. On the other hand, the action of the officials in advising Mr. Gandhi to desist from his inquiry is certainly calculated to arouse suspicions about the treatment of labour. In the next place, the method pursued in seeking to overawe Mr. Gandhi can only be described as remarkably bureaucratic and highhanded. The Collector should have been surprisingly ignorant and uninformed if he had not known of Mr. Gandhi's antecedents and the high esteem in which he is held throughout the country. If however, having known these facts, he chose to exercise the power which he considered--wrongly--to be vested in him by law, he should be an official who is absolutely unfit to exercise the powers under the law. It is also very doubtful if the order served on Mr. Gandhi to leave the district is legal."

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 19th April, says:- "The sufferings of the labourers recruited for work on the estates of the Behar planters have long been notorious. The labourers have striven to place their grievances before the officials on various occasions, but have received no help. A local paper that endeavoured to champion them suffered the dismissal of its editor, whose place was taken by a supporter of the planting interest. The labourers are too cowed to give evidence of the facts they assert. We imagine that some of the facts as to the Champaran district must have reached Mr. Gandhi's ears, and that, with characteristic courage, he has set out to visit the villages and verify the facts for himself. . . . . . . Mr. Gandhi had met the Commissioner, the Collector and the Secretary of the Planters' Association--always hand and glove with the Government--and informed them of his intention to investigate matters. . . . . .The forcible stoppage of Mr. Gandhi's enquiries is natural seeing that so much is taking place which it is vital to conceal. Otherwise, why should Mr. Gandhi be stopped when Dr. Slater and Mr. Patro are praised by the Governor of Madras for making similar enquiries?. . . . . To the villagers, Mr. Gandhi must appear as a veritable angel of deliverance, and all India will watch with keenest interest and with readiness to help the gallant action of the apostle of passive resistance, the champion of the poor."

The Indian Patriot, of the 19th April, writes:-
"We are frankly horrified to learn that some foolish officials have taken it into their heads to interfere with Mr. Gandhi. The news will spread through India like fire and rouse the fiercest indignation among all classes of people. Interference with the freedom of the individual has been, on the whole, borne with patience by the public in India, as they felt that the empire being in war, the State might be permitted to make larger inroads than before on individual liberty. . . . . On the whole, public opinion has not been entirely opposed to the Government in its campaign against political workers of the extreme species. . . . . There is no such feature about the Gandhi prohibition. . . . . .It is impossible to resist the temptation to use violent language against officials who have sprung this upon the people of India to-day. They have helped to rouse the indignation of the young and the old, the politician and the layman. . . . . . . The least harm done to Mr. Gandhi will rouse in India more concern than a German victory on the Somme frontier. We do not exaggerate. The mission on which he went to Motihari is one that appeals to the people. . . . . .We hope that good sense will prevail and that the Government of India will prevent what will be nothing short of a calamity--any harmful touch of this monarch of the Indian heart. . . . . .Touch Mr. Gandhi and at once all that is spirited and high in India will flow to him in sympathy. Educated Indian young men will be more inclined to go to Motihari and attempt to conduct the enquiry which Mr. Gandhi was forbidden to conduct, defy the authorities he has defied, and be flung into jails or be deported than offering themselves to the Defence of India Force. We have no doubt about it and we

most sincerely appeal to the Government not to touch Mr. Gandhi but leave him alone. . . . . It would be an act of great folly if any notion of prestige should throw the Government of India on the side of the Collector of Behar. We appeal to men of influence and associations of standing in India to wire to the Viceroy to interfere before it is too late, before Mr. Gandhi is punished, and India reels at the shock. Mr. Gandhi is not an ordinary man; he is a world force and a landmark in the development of human thought. It should be criminal folly to have such a man arraigned against the Government at this hour."

Mr. Lionel Curts on India.

27. Referring to the publication of "a letter to the people of India" by Mr. Lionel Cuttis, the Hindu, of the 20th April, says:- "Mr. Lionel Curtis is now in a chastened mood. His stay in India for six months has not been in vain. The study of the Indian problem on the spot, the exceptional opportunities afforded for their study by the annual gatherings of the great national assemblies in December last and the sessions of various Legislative Councils, the facilities for free exchange of opinions which he enjoyed in personal interviews with Indians of all classes and the vigorous and sustained attack on his scheme for Imperial reconstruction according to which India was to be ~~on-his-scheme-for Imperial-reconstruction-according-to-which-India-was-to-be~~ governed by a body to which the Dominions and Great Britain are to send representatives, have all combined to illumine Mr. Curtis' mind. . . . .

It is with sincere pleasure that we notice this striking change in the opinion of Mr. Curtis.. . . . .
The ideal which Indians have set before themselves is self-government on the lines of the Dominions; and the desire is strong that this consummation should be reached at an early date. Indian faith in the British democracy, in its love of justice and fair play and in its desire to extend principles of liberty to suffering peoples is so strong and so enduring that until the day of emancipation comes, which, she hopes, will not be long, India will rather prefer to be controlled by Great Britain, which has already granted self-government to her children, than by a heterogenous Parliament with perhaps a showy and shadowy Indian representation. It is very comforting to be told that the Dominions do not desire control of India and that they are anxious that India should soon be like one of them. Let them bring their influence to bear upon their mother country to grant Home Rule to India and till that is done, let them admit India on a footing of perfect equality to the Imperial Parliament dealing with questions of foreign policy, and defence. To Indians responsible Government is as the very breath of their lives as it is to every Dominion."

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Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(d) education.

43. Referring to the compliment recently paid by

Indians and the Education department.

Colonel Stephenson, Principal of the Government College at Lahore, to the capacity of certain Indian Professors, the Swadesamitran, of the 10th April, remarks as follows:- Though the capacity of the Indians to occupy high positions in all departments on an equal footing with the Europeans is becoming more apparent every day, it is not recognized by the Government. In the Education department the Indians are doing better work than some Europeans who hold the higher posts; there is no reason therefore for the former to be confined to the Provincial Service only in which salary and status are inferior to those enjoyed by the Europeans. It can only be said that the higher posts are reserved for Europeans as a matter of right, and not conferred upon people by virtue of merit.

(k) General.

61. The following appears in a telegraphic summary

India and the empire.

reported from Allahabad and published in the Swadesamitran of the 9th April:- If the Indian leaders fulfil their duty, we can acquire self-government. This great spirit has sprung up in us only now for the first time since the advent of the British in India, but innumerable obstacles have arisen in opposition to this spirit. However, we do not recede from it. This cannot but have its end.

65. The Swadesamitran, of the 9th April, publishes the views of the Bombay correspondent of the

India's gift for the war.

London Times and those of the Daily Chronicle, on this subject, the former being to the effect that it should have been better to have stopped with raising a war loan in India at present, instead of accepting the gift of a thousand lakhs of pounds from India leaving the apportionment of the burden of the war loan to the various parts of the empire for being resolved upon in the conference to meet afterwards, and the latter being to the effect that India is economically a very poor country, that more than the relief which this gift could be to England will be the trouble suffered by India on account of it, and that India's help should have been sought mostly in strengthening the man-power. The paper then asks why Pandit Madan Moham Malaviya's resolution on the subject was objected to in the Imperial Legislative Council, seeing that he asked for nothing more than what the Bombay correspondent has suggested.

66. Giving a brief account of the objects of this association and referring to the

The Government of India on the Round Table.

circular issued by the Government of India to the Provincial Governments regarding the participation of officials in its activities, the Swadesamitran, of the 10th April, makes the following observations:- Though the Government of the British Empire admit that differences in colour and creed should not be recognised, and have sought, as far as possible, to see this principle observed in practice, men have sprung up now and again who prompted by racial prejudices, raise obstacles in the way of this high object of the Government. The Round Table is an

organization which seems to be the fruit of the labours of those who have strongly imbibed this prejudice in them. Now instead of stopping with the prohibition of Government officials from joining the ranks of this institution the Government of India have proceeded to write upon the objects of that association. It is not known under what authority the Government of India say that the object of that association is only to consider and determine the questions affecting the British Empire, that it has no other secret motive, and that the Indians have misunderstood that object. We considered the motive of Mr. Curtis to be an evil one, after reading his letter to the association which regards the uncivilized people of East Africa and the Indians as one. We had thus an authority for thinking so. But how did the Government of India learn that that association had no secret motive? Now, out of the 37 crores of people in the British Empire, who have not acquired self-government, the Indians from 35 crores. Mr. Curtis have written that it is "their" undoubted opinion that the British Empire will endure only if the future of these is entrusted into the hands of the Colonists. It is surprising, indeed, that the Government of India should venture to say, after reading this statement that the Round Table has no secret motive, or that we have misunderstood the object of that association. It is falsely stated, say the Government of India/ x. that the Govt. officials have associated themselves with the party of write as though they have not read the letter of Mr. Lionel Curtis. Again, the Government of India are of the opinion that the Government officials can communicate their political views to any one who comes here to ascertain the condition of India. It only comes to this that they should not do so in their capacities as

ith a view ... inence to ... ed to those ... ian political ... reading ... themselves ... hereas we ... ly stated ... the Govt. of ...

Lieutenant-Governor and head of the Police department, but that they can do it as Sir James Meston and Mr. Morris. The Government of India, however, do not seem to have considered how those who have thus acquired information will utilize it. Will they not write in the next book they bring out that such and such persons who have gained 30 years' experience in India, and occupy responsible positions, have told them such and such things? When the Government suspect an Indian official to hold certain political views, do they not arrange to keep a watch over him? How is it necessary that even the ostensible object of the Round Table should be fulfilled? Have the British Government sought for advice from this association? What interest have the Government of India, while the British Government have none, in redndering help for the fulfilment of the self-imposed task of this self constituted association? Though the Government of India have stated that the Government officials should not join the Round Table Association, they are bound to create the belief in the public that they are not giving their support to the opinion that the future lot of India should be entrusted to the hands of the colonits.

The congress deputation.

67. Referring to a resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee recently to the effect that a Congress deputation should be sent to England by next May, the Hindu Nesan, of the 10th April, observes:- This is an opportune resolution. We do not mean to say that it is opportune for the deputation members to convene public meetings in London and deliver lectures on Indian subjects. We consider it,

indeed, to be not quite possible during this time of war. But these members can work in other ways so as to draw the attention of the British public and authorities. It will not be necessary for the members to convene public meetings and give vociferous utterances to their grievances at present, as both the British public and the authorities have in this time of war come to show great sympathy and attachment for India. The delegates of the Congress can speak to big statesmen about the condition of India, and write to the London papers on Indian subjects. They can talk confidentially to those members of Parliament who are in sympathy with India, and secure their support and co-operation. Again we say that this is an opportune moment for the deputation of the Congress to go to England, as it is likely to lead to good results in view of possible affairs after the war. There are many subjects connected with India awaiting solution then. The status that India should be given in the Empire, the Military charges it will have to bear, its financial relations, its commercial independence, the constitutional changes in its administration, these and similar matters now await solution. If at this juncture the Congress delegates work with the British Ministers on the one hand and the British public on the other, it cannot fail to bear adequate result.

National Congress.

The Andhraprakasika, of the 11th April, writes as follows in a leader under this heading:- The All-India Congress Committee met last Saturday at Calcutta and passed two resolutions. The second

resolution which is of great importance is that a deputation of eight Indian representatives be sent to England in the end of May to represent our grievances and our rights to the British public and the authorities. The time when we might sit in peace has passed away. . . . . .Even the London Times, which used to say that Indians were quite useless, expresses with sympathy that the Indians are now awakened, that they should be saved from disappointment which may create unrest among them. . . . . .We have a number of grievances to represent to the British Ministers, Members of Parliament, British Associations and the British public. If they are committed to writing, they will fill a big volume. There are many who seek, by misrepresentation, to draw a veil o er our aspirations and our movements. If the British public should trust them, much harm will be done to us. Some think that after the end of the war we may go to England and represent grievances. Theyr proposal is like "trying to sink wells after the houses have taken fire.". . . . . We think, therefore, that it is of the utmost importance to represent our grievances now only, and that the resolution will, therefore, be welcomed by the country.

The Congress deputation to England.

Referring to the decision of the Executive Committee of the Indian National Congress to send to England a deputation consisting of eight capable and patriotic Indians to represent to the people there the needs and claims of India, the Keraladayam, of the 18th April, observes that the step proposed to be taken is an opportune and necessary one, especially at this time when matters relating to administrative reforms, to inter-relations between the various parts of the Empire,

to trade and recruiting, etc--in fact, all matters relating to the future welfare of the Empire are being enquired into and discussed.

The Congress deputation.

The Kerala Sanchari, of the 18th April, also approves of the proposal to send a deputation to England, and hopes that the efforts of the Provincial Congress Committees to raise the necessary funds therefor will be crowned with success.

The application of the Press Act.

68. The Liva-ul-Islam, of the 2nd April, reproduces in full the article under this head published in the Swadesamitran, of the 29th March, and abstracted in paragraph 78 of Report No. 14 of 1917.

The application of the Press Act.

The Mahavikatadhutan, of the 14th April, reproduces the comments of the Bombay Chronicle on this subject extracted by the Swadesamitran of the 29th March 1917, and referred to in paragraph 78 of Report No. 14 of 1917.

Prohibition of Mr. Pal from attending the Hindu Provincial Conference.

74. The following appears in the Prapanchamitran of the 13th April:- Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal had been invited to deliver a lecture at this conference which commenced its sittings on the 7tg instant, But on the Government forbidding it, it is said that he has been written to not to come. Mr. Pal lives in Bengal, but it has caused no harm at all there. It is regrettable that the authorities of the Government should lose their head and thus entertain useless notions.

78. Under the heading "Indi ference," the Lokopakari, of the 16th April,

78. Under the heading "Indifference," the Lokopakari, of the 16th April, refers to the alleged proselytising efforts of the Christian Missionaries in schools and the compulsory instruction given to students there in the Bible, and a similar tendency in the Christian Missionary ladies employed to teach young ~~me~~ women in Indian homes, and observes that, in additiion, the idea is inculcated in young boys that idolatry is sinful, and the Hindu Shastras are myths, that in consequence the Indian youths lose faith in their own religion and even come to slight the words of their parents, that the Hindus are indifferent to this evil, and seek harm to themselves by spending their money, and that this state of affairs would lead to great harm to the country and the people, and measures should therefore be taken to guard against the spread of foreign religions in our country.

Christian Missionaries in Indian schools and homes.

79. The following appears in the Lokopakari, of the 16th April:-

A gentleman interned without inquiry.

Mr. Jaharenal of Bombay is a Master of Arts; he holds testimonials from several persons that he is of good conduct. The Bombay Government have, without inquiry, ordered that he should be kept in the Poona Jail for 2½ years. His father sent any number of petitions to the Government, but in vain. Why should the subjects conduct themselves in such a way as to create suspicion in the authorities against themselves?

Where is the use of doing things in opposition to the authorities and feeling for it afterwards? The world will be pleased only by kind words and not by harsh words. It will be productive of great good if the people should represent their grievances to the Government in a constitutional way.

Higher posts for Indians in the Defence Force.

84. Referring to the Lahore speech of Lord Chelmsford on this subject, to the effect that he could not at that moment tell the people any thing about the Indians being given the higher posts in the army, and the way in which Sirdar Sundar Singh and several other representative Members of Imperial Legislative Council, the western paper known as the Truth and Sir Owen Grey have urged the admission of Indians to the higher military appointments, the Swadesamitran, of the 16th April, observes:- Is there room for us to expect that the higher military posts will be thrown open to the Indians, from the speech of the Viceroy at Lahore. It was stated by the Secretary of State for India in reply to a question in the House of Commons that the Viceroy intended to confer such posts on Indians when they were fit for them. Should not, then, the Indians be admitted to military colleges at Quetta and other places for training, so that they may qualify themselves for the higher posts? Under these circumstances, what shall we say of the speech of Lord Chelmsford at Lahore.

The Public Services Commission.

86. The Hindu Nesan, of the 18th April, punlishes what purports to be the translation of an

article on the subject contributed to the March issue of the Contemporary Review, by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who was one of the members of this Commission.

The Suvarnalekha, of the 10th April, says:-

The Report of the Public Services Commission.

The Burton Evening Gazette says that the report of the Public Services Commission contains twenty volumes with six or seven thousand pages and costs Rs.40 It asks who has been benefited by such a large expenditure when paper is scarce in these days of war. The observance of Ekadasi (a fasting day) preached by the priest is, indeed, not for himself but for others.

The Andhraprakasika, of the 11th April, writes as follows under this heading:-

Public Services Report.

We publish here in brief the opinion of Archdeacon Hutton, who wrote to the Indiaman about the Public Services Commission Report. Mr. Hutton objects to the recommendation of the Royal Commission that youths studying for the Indian Forest Service examination need not study in the British Universities, and says that it is proper that they should study in the British Universities. We do not agree with Mr. Hutton in this matter. What harm will result if as many Forest Colleges as are necessary are established in this country? We are of opinion that the Indian Universities also can impart ~~country~~ instruction in the subjects taught in the English Universities. It may be said that India abounding with many forests will be a fitter place for the establishment of Forest Colleges

than the western countries. . . . . .Mr. Hutton is, perhaps, not aware that, in India, no reform is possible, without the help of the Government. Mr. Hutton recommends, for the Indian Civil Service students, instruction in Ancient Indian History. We are at one with him in this respect. It is a want of knowledge in the Ancient History of India that disposes our Collectors, Judges and the rulers, to look down upon the Indian people at times.

Europeans in India and Military service.

89. Referring to the conscription brought into force in India in the case of Europeans, and the numerous Europeans serving in the various departments of Government, of whom many may be fit for military service, the Swadesamitran, of the 18th April, makes the following observations:- At the present time when it is necessary to enlist all the men available for military service, there is no ground for not enlisting all those officers who are fit for such service. For instance, there are 48 Europeans serving as magistrates in military stations, and we understand that at least 30 of them will be fit for military duty. If any difficulty should arise in connection with their work on account of their being enlisted in the army, suitable arrangements can be made for it. It is necessary to enlist them as they will be desirous of joining military service. If they are not enlisted, complaints will arise here also as in England.

93. Referring to the security demanded of the Telugu weekly (The Desamata) a correspondent to the

The Desamata,

Andhrapatrika, of the 13th April, says:- M.R.Ry. Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham is a celebrated poet and patriot, devoted to the service of society. He takes part in every important movement calculated to advance the interests of the public. The Desamata published by him is noted for the propriety of its opinions.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 13th April, says in its leaderette:- While speaking about the Press Act yesterday we remarked that the enforcement of the Act may be due to the narrow-mindedness of the subordinate officers of the Government. It appears that the Government have now demanded a security of Rs.1,000 from the Desamata. The editor of that paper is the celebrated Andhra patriot Mr. Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham Pantulu. No one knowing him can entertain any doubt about his loyalty and accuse him of sedition . He is a great poet and novelist, and is known as the Andhra Scott. . . . . He is a social reformer and a Brahmo. It may be positively asserted that nobody can have any cause to suspect his character. Certain articles in the Desamata may, by a change in the point of view, be found liable for the application of the Act. But the rulers should, before enforcing the provisions of the Act, take into consideration the general trend of the paper. They should not accuse the paper of seditious ideas taking into consideration only a few articles contained therein. Those who sish to find fault can do it easily. When there is a difference of opinion between the rulers and the ruled, it is important that the Government should base their judgment on the general tone of the paper. . . . . .We hope that the Andhra patriots and the lovers

of Andhra literature will raise by subscriptions the required security and thus show the spirit of self-help that has risen in the Andhra world. We trust that all the Andhras will, with a view to maintain the honour of Mr. Lakshminarasimham, contribute to the Desamata security fund and save the freedom of the press.

Desamata security.

With reference to the ~~seeiryt~~ security of Rs.1,000, the editor of the Desamata was asked to deposit, the Andhrapatrika, of the 17th April, writes: Several Telugu Dramatic Companies have been making money by putting on the boards dramas written by Mr. C. Lashmi-narasimham. They will be discharging their duty by contributing to the fund in aid of the Desamata moneys collected by enacting his two dramas. In this way, the Andhras will help the raising of the fund easily. We hope, the people, as well as the dramatic companies in the Andhra country will, in this way, discharge their debt to Mr. Lakshminarasimham.

Desamata security.

A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 17th April, writes a letter under this heading in which he exhorts the members of the dramatic companies to put on the boards any one of the dramas written by Chilakamarti Lakshminarisimham and contribute the proceeds towards the security.

India and Lord Islington.

106. The Andhrapatrika, of the 16th April, says:- No change takes place easily in the

stereotyped ways of the ordinary people. They do not like new conditions of life as much as they like the old ones. The Indian bureaucracy come under this category. Unless their views undergo a change, there can be no salvation to India. . . . . .When there is democracy all over the world, Russia cannot remain opposed to it as Mr. Lloyd George has said. . . . . Western statesmen apply such principles to Western States and not to eastern countries. In their opinion, the old institutions are the refuge of the eastern countries in the present and the future. They believe that no evolution of idea has occurred in the east. But this idea is opposed to experience. Even in India, the National Congress and the Moslem League at Lucknow have confirmed the fact that the political views of the people have undergone a change. The political associations and the swaraj leagues established in India bear testimony to this change of ideas. Will not India be pervaded by the spirit of the age that has dawned over the whole world? That the new spirit has pervaded the Indian continent is illustrated by the valour shown by the Indian soldiers in the several theatres of the war and the sacrifice made by the Indians for the prosecution of the war. The evolution of ideas that has taken place in other countries has taken place in India too. But statesmen say that it is not proper to carry out political reforms in accordance with the spirit of the age.

When questioned by an American Press representative as to the possibility or otherwise of the grant of self-government to India, Lord Islington, the Under Secretary of State for India, answered saying that self-government had to be established step by step in India, that it was injurious to the interests of India to be in a hurry about it, that

the British rule was the only refuge for India and that the same interest would well be taken in the Indians as was taken by the Americans in the people of the Phillippine Islands. We all agree with Lord Islington in thinking that the British rule is a necessity for India. But unless it is determined what the British rule is to result in India, there is no scope for India to have a rule adapted to the spirit of the age. Lord Islington was glad that in the Legislative Councils the representatives of the people formed a majority. But everyone knows that little is gained by such representation. Indians admit that self-government is to be had gradually. But it is not definitely known in what time it is to be had. Lord Islington was wrong in taking the Philippine Islands as an example. He knows that the political reforms and the spread of education that took place in 15 years in the Philippine Islands have not taken place in India even after a hundred years of British rule. It is strange that he still expressed the above view. This opinion might satisfy the American representative, but it cannot hoodwink the Indians. In the Philippine Islands, education has spread, the greater number of higher appointments are in the hands of the people and the foundation of self-government has been well laid. Americans promised that self-government would be established ere long. There are no such things in India. Indians first want a publication of the intentions of the Government. It is difficult to accomplish anything without a programme of work. Lord Islington ventured to say that the recommendations

of the Public Services Commission would satisfy the American well-wishers of India. When they have failed to satisfy the Indians who are accustomed to foreign Government, it is an illusion due to love of authority to say that they will satisfy the Americans who are accustomed to self-government. From the opinions now expressed by statesmen it is plain that there is no meaning in the statement made by English statesmen at the commencement of the war that their attitude towards India had changed. Incessant and keen agitation in Great Britain is necessary to effect a change in the opinions of the English.

108. The Andhrapatrika, of the 17th April, writes undetr this heading:-

Defence of India Force.

In Madras hundreds of young men are applying for enlistment in the Defence of India Force. In the Andhra country, no efforts in this direction appear to have been made; this is opposed to our self-respect. It is not right for the Andhra youths to be silent now. All young men who can afford to join the Defence of India Force will be doing their duty if they join it, keep up the prestige of the Andhras and the Indians and help to the establishment of a national empire. Only when people serve disinterestedly, the Almighty will help them to realize their desires. We wish that the Andhra people will join the force in large numbers and discharge their duty.

115. Referring to the appointment of Bhai (sic) Maharaj as a member of the Fiji Legislative Council,

Indian member of the Fiji Legislative Council.

the Keralodayam, of the 17th April, observes that this act of the King-Emperor's will not fail to gladden the hearts of His Majesty's Indian subjects.

III. Legislation.

116. The Andhrapatrika, of the 12th April, says:-

The Press Act.

From the list of printing presses and papers that were subjected to the operation of the Press Act, it will be plain that the Act is an obstruction not only to the freedom of the press, but also to the advancement of knowledge. . . . . .The presses have altogether piad a security of Rs.1,70,000. The profession of printers, who have paid such a large mount and who are always in fear of losing it, is plainly a very hard one. The statistics published go to show that 19 per cent of the presses in India have been subjected to the operation of the Act, and that the Act is a serious impediment to the future advancement of printing presses, though His Excellency the Viceroy said in reply to the Press Deputation that nobody was affected by the Act. . . . . .The publishing of newspapers in the vernaculars is rarely a paying concen, and under such circumstances, it is impossible for the conducts of newspapers to bear the burden of paying a security and to put up with restrictions. The authorities should endeavour to free them from this burden. His Excellency the Viceroy said, however, that no great hardship was caused to the publishers of newspapers. . . . . .All the Telugu papers experienced the repressive nature of the Press Act. . . . .
It is the practice of the subordinate officers to decide certain writings to be seditious and for the higher authorities to approve of such decisions. Unless some

change is made in this practice, it is difficult to secure justice. The cause of a warning to the Andhra-patrika in 1914 was a passage in its columns relating to the Government of Russia. It was a translation of an article that appeared in some paper published in the British Isles. That article contain d a criticism of Russian arbitrary government. It was written that alliance between an arbitrary government and a constitutional one is incompatible. For thsi, a warning was given. From a perusal of the articles published about Russia after the revolution, it will be plain that warnings, nay, securities and their forfeiture are not adequate punishment to the papers that published them. On careful consideration it will be seen that the root cause of the Act in question and its operation is the want of confidence in the people and not sedition. The warnings and punishments given to newspapers and printing presses may mostly be as undeserved as the warning given to the Andhrapatrika. It will be well on the part of the rulers to understand that unless the Act is repealed, newspapers cannot discharge their duties.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 28TH APRIL 1917.

No. 17 of 1917.

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

II. Home Administration.

(d) Education.

The Principal, Thomason College, Roorkee.

8. The Hindu, of the 25th April, remarks:- "Mr. W.Wood, C.S.I., Principal of the Thomason College, Roorkee, is an officer who is, in our opinion, unfit to hold the appointment a minute longer than is absolutely necessary to arrange for his relief. It would appear that he recently delivered an address to his Indian students exclusively, a printed copy of which has been sent to the Allahabad papers for publication. . . . . . This is absolute nonsense, a contemptibe effusion which incapacitates the author from holding any responsible position, much less from posing as an educator of young Indians. The only effect on impressionable minds of such extremely silly talk and dishonest abuse of a whole class of Indians will be to create feelings of pain and disgust hardly calculated to enhance the prestige of Englishmen in India. Half-a-dozen professors of Mr. Wood's stamp will suffice to bring discredit on European professors in general and set students against established authority. It is in the highest interests necessary that this eccentric Mr. Wood should be sent away immediately."

In a leder under the heading "Libelling a nation," the Indian Patriot, of the 26th April, states:- "The speech that some irresponsible member made in Parliament suggesting that Indians should be employed on coolie work on the battlefield is going round in the Indian Press. No Indian, educated or uneducated, can read or hear it without feeling righteous indignation. . . . . Will any Member of Parliament, however pronounced a lunatic, have been permitted to make any such remark against the French, the Russian or even the small Montenegrin? He would have at once been called to order and came in for a severe censure at the hands of the Prime Minister. But we read of no such corrective being applied to this maligner of the Indian nation. . . . . If the mad remarks were used only to abuse him who made it, it would not matter much, but it does harm to the peaceful mind when the inevitable moral is drawn that the British still think of the people of this country as coolies, and that the Milner idea of Colonial suzerainty over us may easily spread among them. We hope that responsible men will consider it their duty to check statements that will find reverberating echoes in India, whose effect will damp public enthusiasm for war. We can afford to laugh at unknown Englishmen ignorant of India and incapable of large conceptions of Empire and Imperial responsibility; but when those who live in our midst, who pretent to know us and, in whose hands, as professors, we have entrusted our youths, deliberately take to abusing the people of India, we can never tolerate the situation. The Leader brings to prominence a speech made by one Wood, Principal of the Roorke College, whom the Government have honoured with the C.S.I.. . . . . We should suggest,

in all seriousness, that Mr. Wood should be despatched as a Royal Engineer to the front where he may either be employed to abuse the Huns in the choicest language or to trace the origin of German ferocity to German home environments. We hope that Mr. Wood's remarks will cost him at least his appointment~~s~~ as a teacher of young India. We do not want those who despise our youths to teach them; they would be in their proper place in the editorial staff of the Pioneer. . . . .
We appeal to the Government to take full note of it and to see to it that every trivial incident with the racial touch in it is immediately attended to. Do not spare the official, however high he may be, that would not trat the Indian on the same terms as the British soldier treats the Indian sepoy in the trenches."

Justice of the 28th April, remarks:- "It was a singularly indiscreet and offensive speech that the Principal of the Thomason College, Roorkee, delivered to his students the other day. Some students, we are told, had to be dismissed from the college for dishonest practices, and if the speaker had confined himself to this subject and to the affairs of the institution over which he presides, we would have had no occasion to refer to his speech at all. But Mr. W.G. Wood, for that is his name, ventured beyond his depth. . . . .
Now, this attack on the home life of the Indian no sane individual would be justified in making. Mr. Wood made a sweeping charge against Indians as a class and then tried to justify it. Does Mr. Wood think that, affter this performance of his, he is himself entitled to be called a gentleman"?

(k) General.

10. In commenting on the decision of the All India Congress Committee to send a deputation to England, the Wednesday Review, for the week ending 18th April, writes:- "If the concern of the Indian National Congress Deputation is solely self-government for India we fail to see where the English side of the programme comes in. We have been repeatedly and emphatically told that India will be fit for self-rule the moment her sons desire it. If that be so the deputation has only to say, let us have self-government and self-government will be had without the necessity of crossing over to England and canvass votes there. We trust the deputation will keep before itself a more practical and less ambitious programme so that its labours may not be thrown away and the deputation may not be discredited as an unpractical visionary body."

The Congress deputation to England.

Referring to the announcement by the Hindu that many of the members of the Congress Deputation had not been consulted previous to their nomination ,Justice, of the 21st April, says:- "If a stray individual or two had not been formally consulted before their names were included in the list, the thing would not have looked so ridiculous. . . . . Perhaps the All India Congress Committee thought only of producing an impression on the public imagination, but little dreamt that somebody else would have the temerity to come out with another version. But the political pretensions, of this body are very high, and if the

Hindu's facts are undisputed and indisputable, that committee cannot escape the consequences of its own conduct. If Indian politicians who agitate for the immediate introduction of self-government into India could not manage their own affairs better, those with whom rest the power and the gift may well hesitate and defer the granting of the concession until such time as when, in their judgment, India becomes fit for it."

The Indian Patriot, of the 21st April, remarks:- "We are surprised that the proposed deputation to England by the All-India Congress Committee should have been made into a farce. It is said that persons who, the public were told, were to go to England in May have never heard of it themselves, that the question of funds has not been settled. In all probability the deputation may not start at all. That this criticism should be possible in regard to a measure taken in the name of the Indian National Congress is regrettable, indeed. . . . . At a time when even friends are doubting the wisdom and even practicability of a deputation to England, it was very unfortunate that this sorry exhibition should be before the public. We are strongly of opinion that this is the time when a deputation must be in England, interviewing leading men, and, whenever possible, pressing the claims of India. We have the authority of Mr. Kerr of the Round Table, who is associated with the Prime Minister, that there is urgent need for pressing the claims of India."

12. (third para)

Writing under the heading, "Tennis Court Conference," Justice, of the 24th April, remarks:- "It was in the closing years of the eighteenth century that the third estate in France, self-styled National Assembly, driven out of the hall of the three orders by the orders of the King, held their session on a tennis court in Versailles owned by M. Latille. And in later years when the King had accepted the constitution prepared by the tennis court conference, the master of the tennis court, M. Lataille, received honourable mention and due reward of money. It is strange that history repeats itself even in some of its minor details. We have in the early years of the twentieth century an assembly of national constitution-makers driven out from the Government maidan at Calicut by Mr. Collector Evans meeting in the tennis court of Mr. Raman Menon to formulate the future Indian constitution. To borrow the language of Carlyle, the Collector of Malabar imagined that he could scatter a few hundreds of Malabar representatives, big with national constitution, like so much barndoor poultry big with next to nothing, by one of his district magisterial orders. Barndoor poultry fly cackling, but national representatives turned round lion-faced and with stentorian voices delivered speeches and passed resolutions.

Justice, of the 26th April, states:- "We, too, have been receiving a number of letters about the Calicut Conference.

We cannot afford to publish them all. It is clear that the Conference was the work of a few Home Rulers--with which the inhabitants of Malabar had practically nothing to do. The masses in the interior know nothing about it even now. There are again those who look upon the whole thing as a harmless show. The Home Rulers have been trying to make much of it. Doubtless, that is their business. But this sort of business is not likely to thrive long. Politics which has no root in living social facts will never appeal to thoughtful and practical people."

14. Mr. Lionel Curtis on India. In reviewing the publication "a letter to the people of India" by Mr. Lionel Curtis, the Indian Patriot, of the 20th April, observes:-
"We have no doubt that the very frank and full statement of Mr. Curtis will raise him in the estimation of the people of India. . . . . .This letter of Mr. Curtis will surely place him above suspicion of being a foe and a conspirator. . . . .
The Congress deputation to England must find, we think, in the organisation of the Round Table very powerful friends. . . . . .Mr. Curtis is a champion of self-government to India, and unlike Lord Morley believes that India "can, must and will have' a parliamentary system of Government."

15. Mr. M.K. Gandhi and the Behar planters. Referring to the withdrawal of the notice issued to Mr. Gandhi under section 144,

Criminal Procedure Code, the Hindu, of the 21st April, states:- "Apart from his culpable ignorance of the law, the action of the Magistrate shows under what trivial pretexts men even of the position of Mr. Gandhi are liable be harassed by criminal proceedings instituted by the buraaucratic agents of the Government, without the latter being made duly accountable for their misdeeds."

The Indian Patriot, of the 21st April, writes:- "We are surprised that the Behar officials should persist in their mistake. The telegrams that informs us today that the notice against Mr. Gandhi has been withdrawn also tells us that proceedings are to be taken against him for disobeying the order. . . . . .Why should these proceedings be taken against him, except that the official's prestige should be protected? . . . . We hope the obstinacy of the minor official will not be allowed to stir up India."

The Hindu, of the 24th April, observes:- "Mr. M.K. Gandhi has issued a statement in connection with the incident in North Behar. The action taken by the authorities in directing the withdrawal of the searcely legal order of the District Magistrate is the only possible one which could have been taken in the interests of truth, the maintenance of law and good Government. . . . . It is alleged that a system akin to indentured labour is in force inthe planting districts, and it was with a view to inquire personally into the matter that Mr. Gandhi went over to Champaran. The incident gives rise to certain reflections which it is not pleasant to express. For instance, contrast the treatment extended by officials

in India of all classes to Mr. Lionel Curtis who was--Mr. Curtis may have changed his views now--a prominent supporter of anti-Indian legislation in the Transvaal, and to Mr. Gandhi, who was a sturdy champion of the rights of Indians and was clapped into jail on several occasions for it. Both of them wanted to study; Mr. Curtis's studies were directed to the position of India in Imperial politics, while Mr. Gandhi's were directed to the position of India in Imperial politics, while Mr. Gandhi's were directed to the grievances of his poorer countrymen in North Behar. Mr. Curtis was received with open arms, while the gates of the jail were about to be widely opened for the reception of Mr. Gandhi. If an Indian of even the position and record of Mr. Gandhi could be humiliated and prosecuted on such flimsy charges, then there is something seriously and radically wrong with the system of Government in the country."

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Vernacular Papers.

Foreign Politics.

34. Referring to a deputation of ten members, inclusive of some Missionaries, who waited upon the Prime Minister of Canada in January and importuned him to permit the Sikhs there to get their wives and children into the Colony, the Swadesamitran, of the 23rd April, says:- If such a sympathetic feeling spreads in Canada, it will give satisfaction to all. If, on the other hand, the Indians are treated with greater disgust and jealousy, need we say what harm will result therefrom?

Sikhs in Canada.

35. The Swadesamitran, of the 23rd April, reports the Times of Ceylon to have described the efforts of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachellam to improve the condition of the Ceylonese as a "mischievous movement" and to have stated that such a movement in India has been condemned by seve al people, and observes:- Many here will be surprised to see this remark of the Ceylon Times. We heartily agree in the principle that nothing, which would cause any injury or trouble to the Government, should be spent over the question whether there is anything wrong in pointing out the hopes and aspirations of the people to the authorities. We do not know what this paper will say of the revolution brought about in Russia, which is knee-deep in the war, the proposals made to reform the rules governing election in England, and the promise given even by the German Emperor to increase the popular privileges in Germany.

Indians in Ceylon.

II. Home Administration.

(a) Police.

43. The Swadesamitran, of the 24th April, reproduces an article from the Bombay Chronicle,

The ways of the Secret Police.

detailing the unjust manner in which one Mr. Ananda Ram of Bombay, who undertook to stage a drama in aid of the war fund and hand over the net profits to that fund, and who could not eventually pay anything to the war fund on account of the staging of the drama having resulted in a loss, was treated by the Secret Police there and was being compelled in various ways to pay Rs.50, from his own pocket, if he was to be spared further trouble and observes:- The Bombay Chronicle severely criticises the action of the Secret Police in this matter. When the public have not much confidence in the Secret Police, on account of their undesirable ways of the latter, how can any one keep quiet, when they act in such a manner as to curtail even the little confidence that they command now.

57. The Qaumi Report, of the 19th April, writes:- Corporation or municipality is

Opposition to Muhammadan claims.

the name given to government by the people under the authority and orders of the Government. This is a practical school where lessons on national duties are taught and the secrets of expediency are revealed. But unfortunately Muhammadans have always been behindhand in

their efforts to secure their rights, and they are unable to get on without Hindu consideration and generosity. Our Hindu brethren do not wish the Muhammadans to take any trouble. Their affairs and ours are one and the same, they say, "We will do all that is to be done." Some Muhammadans are sitting down calmly with folded arms ready to throw themselves on the mercy and generosity of the Hindus.

Our old friends say, "As education, irrigation and roads are the same for Hindus and Muhammadans why should there be separate Commissioners? If the logic of elections end with this argument, can these gentlemen show why there should be separate electorates for "the Chamber of Commerce," "Port Trust, etc."? Are there separate irrigations and roads for the Chamber of Commerce and Port Trust? The fact is, these are delusions to deceive fools.

The aim of a municipality or corporation is to ensure the co-operation of every nationality in order that all may learn administrative methods. The founder of municipalities in this country was "Lord Ripon", an ex-Viceroy of India; and he established them on these lines. The famous minute ny the India Government contains the following:- "First of all the Governor-General in Council should explain that, in the endeavour to promote advancement in Local and Municipal administrations and to establish this principle in the different branches of local administration, it is not their idea that the administration can be carried on more efficiently by District officers. The scheme is approved not with the sole view to progress and reform the mode of administration, but more with the object of educating people politically."

Can any one claim that Mussalmans need no political training? Can Lord Ripon's policy be kept alive by the advancement of one community and by the keeping of another in the back ground? We trow not reflect that it is through the Hindus that we lose our rights. Briefly our contention is that because of them our rights in certain relations are forfeited. Some things which the Hindus do not want the Muhammadans need.

58. The Qaumi Report, of the 18th April, referring to "The deprivation of national right." the special proposition moved by the Hon'ble Yakub Hasan Sahib demanding the right of a permanent separate electorate for the election of four Muhammadan Commissioners which was opposed by Muhammad Usman Sahib among others, says:- Criticism of the proposition by Hindus would be no occasion for either sorrow or surprise, but we are amazed and at a loss to know the reason for Mr. Muhammad Usman's opposition. He puts it on the ground that there is no need for a separate electorate for Muhammadans for has he not been returned himself by the votes given by the Hindus?

Mr. Muhammad Usman's argument makes a very disagreeable addition to our amasement; and we cannot understand how he can come forward not only to set aside the national rights of Muhammadans but also to efface all nationality.

It is true he has been returned as a Commissioner by the votes of Hindus. It may be that they have chosen him because he is more capable and experienced and better acquainted with affairs than the Hindus! This is, however, an open secret which it is unnecessary to reveal.

Mussalmans would, however, be still more astonished if they were to be informed that Mr. Muhammad Usman, by joining hands with the Hindus, has absolutely ~~e sacrified~~ sacrificed the rights of the Muhammadans.

The fact is that this motion has not been moved by the Hon'ble Yakub Hasan Sahib on personal or private grounds. This same motion has already been put forward in the name of all Indian Mussalmans, and it has been accepted by the authorities --Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and the Viceroy.

This is a motion of the Mussalman community which cannot be scotched by the union of three or four individuals or the combination of a few circumstances. Mussalmans will never admit Mr. Yakub Hasan's failure, for they trust that this set-back will ultimately prove to be the harbinger of signal success.

The editor, referring to a similar proposition moved by the Raja Sahib of Jahangirabad in the Council, says:- This was in like manner strongly opposed by the Hindus, but in spite of much opposition Mussalmans were given the right of a separate electorate. They further held protest meetings, wrote to the papers and submitted memorials to the Viceroy. The result of it all was Mussalman rights were restored. From this we have derived this much satisfaction that the Government, in its endeavours to preserve and safeguard Mussalman rights, does not easily fall a prey to misplace enthusiasm and clamour.

We had hoped that our Hindu brethren in Madras would have taken a lesson from the above incident. But they have just imitated it and followed the same procedure as that adopted in the United Provinces, the result of which they had already seen. From Mr. Muhammad Usman's opposition it appears to us that Madras is more fortunate than the United Provinces inasmuch as some Muhammadans also are with the Hindus in their endeavours to destroy Muhammadan rights. It is possible he may regard this as the result of his enlightenment and sense of justice, but the logic of national problems, which he has not yet been able to understand, dins in his ears;

> "This heart wars against me in his behalf saying:
>
> "Whence has this supporter appeared."

The condition of Indians in South Africa.

61. Referring to an instance in Port Elizabeth of an Indian merchant who, having purchased a building and obtained a license at first for two months to transfer his business and conduct it there, applied for a permanent license thereafter, but did not succeed in getting one, the Swadesamitran, of the 19th April, observes:- No reason being assigned for the refusal of the license, the merchant engaged a vakil to ascertain a reason; and the Indian Opinion, published in South Africa, says that a municipal authority informed the vakil that the object of the Municipal Council was indeed to get rid of Indian merchants gradually. If this be true, who will not be offended by the prevalence of hatred against the Indians still? It is a wonder, indeed, that such a statement should be made at this time when news has

has reached us by wire that the Colonial representatives look upon the Indian representatives and Indian questions with sympathy in the Imperial Conference. Is it not necessary that such an unbecoming statement should cease, so that the empire may grow in solidarity and union.

India and the European war.

64. In its leader under this head, the Pandiyanesan, of the 14th April, observes:- The Government, who are realizing the truthfulness and the ingrained superior loyalty of the Indians, have come forward to raise loans of different kinds in India also, and to train the Indians for the Indian Defence Force, which is calculated to bring us esteem and joy. Our friends who have read the notification published in our paper about the Indian war loan will, we trust, contribute their mite to the loan within the prescribed period, and help the Government to adopt the necessary measures for winning victory in the war.

Mr. Gandhi and a District Magistrate.

65. Speaking of the hardships of the Indian coolies not only in foreign countries, but in India also where 80 per cent of the planters are supposed by the paper to be unsympathetic, and of Mr. Gandhi having consulted the Revenue Divisional Commissioner and the District Collector and Magistrate on his intention to proceed to the Champaran district for ascertaining the nature of the relations, between the planters and the coolies there, the Hindu Nesan, of the 19th April, speaks in praise of the self-sacrificing devotion of Mr. Gandhi to the public cause and observes:-

It is stated that the Divisional Revenue Commissioner told Mr. Gandhi that he need not undertake the task, as the Government were already making enquiries into the matter, but that Mr. Gandhi replied that it did not matter, that the Government might help him in the enquiry and that he would se ve as a help to them, and so proceeded to Motihari. It appears that a notice pursued him there from the Champaran District Magistrate to the effect that he should leave the said district under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. If this news from Bankipur be true, it is highly regrettable that such a notice should have been issued to Mr. Gandhi. We cannot say anything more about this with the news that has now reached us. But it will be generally deemed that the issue of the notice is a precipitate action.

The case against Mr. Gandhi.

Referring to the notice said to have been issued by the Commissioner of Behar on Mr. Gandhi, who had gone to that province for ascertaining particulars directly regarding the relations existing between the planters and the cultivators there, the Swadesamitran, of the 19th April, observes:- According to a telegram received just a while ago, it appears that it is long since misunderstandings arose between the Behar planters and their cultivators. Mr. Gandhi might have intended to ascertain the reason for the misunderstandings and set them right. How is it likely that a disturbance should arise by his going to the planters and the cultivators and ascertaining the reason of their misunderstandings?

The Swadesamitran, of the 21st April, writes under ~~the head,~~ the head, "The end of Mr. Gahdhi's case":- The news that the Magistrate disposed of the case without arriving at any finding will give great satisfaction to all. The notice served on him under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code has also been cancelled. We think, indeed, that the officer admitted his mistake, coming to know that the issue of notice was either illegal or undesirable. This is the right thing. If instead of persisting, the authorities conducted themselves by admitting their faults, the people will repose ~~with~~ faith in them, instead of laughing at them. If that officer had calmly thought over who Mr. Gandhi was or with what intention he went to make inquiries of those village people, he would not have issued this notice at all. Any-how "all's well that ends well." No cause should prevail in the country likely to affect its peaceful condition; but there seems to be cause for it in that province. As Mr. Gandhi went only to inquire into it and remove it, his object could only prove a help to the Government. If it be stated that no one else should inquire into whatever is under the contemplation or inquiry of the Government, it will be reasonable to issue notice to Mr. Lionel Curtis and others and stop their labour.

Mr. Gandhi and the Behar officials.

The Swadesamitran, of the 23rd April, expresses its satisfaction at the assurance given by the authorities that they would assist Mr. Gandhi in enquiring about the condition of the ryots in that province.

Mr. Gandhi.

Referring to the notice served on Mr. Gandhi in North Behar, the Andhrapatrika, of the 19th April, says:- There is nothing wrong in Mr. Gandhi's conduct. Every man is privileged to go where he likes, and make any necessary enquiries. The authorities may interfere when such enquiries are injurious to the country. It is unfair on the part of the Government to side with the planters. It is opposed to the British sense of justice to prevent anyone individual from conferring with any other. We trust that the rulers will cancel the notice and do justice to Mr. Gandhi. Pleaders offered to help Mr. Gandhi, but he pleaded guilty to the charge of disobedience. Mr. Gandhi's unsurpassed courage will enhance the regard with which he is treated by his countrymen whatever view the Government may take of it.

Mr. Gandhi.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 21st April, says:- The National Congress found it necessary to enquire into the relations between planters and tenants in some districts of a Province as those relations were very miserable. The Congress stands in the same relation to India as the House of Commons to the British Isles. From the fact that one or two District officers tried to dishonour Mr. Gandhi who is respectable and who has been appointed by such an august body as the Congress to enquire into the relations between planters and tenants, it is plain how arbitrarily young officers behave even in

this twentieth century. Mr. Gandhi did not go to deliver stirring speeches, to conspire, to incite people, or to set fire to buildings. He went to enquire into the grievances of the ryots and to report thereon to the authorities, to the Congress and to the public, with a view to ameliorate their condition. The servants of the Government who want peaceful methods and constitutional agitation have acted short-sightedly and created great unrest. If the officers are afraid that the advent into North Behar of one like Mr. Gandhi, who preaches harmlessness, who is good natured, and who is a saint, will create an explosion, then it must be deemed that the situation there is rotten and that the officers obstructed his freedom of movement in order to cover the real state of affairs. May the Lieutenant-Governor issue orders directing the officers not to throw obstacles in the way of Mr. Gandhi but to facilitate the work he has undertaken by every means! The officers of Government and the planters being of the same race, we fear that the ryots will not have justice done to them. The fact that the District officers and the Commissioner have agreed with the opinion of the Secretary to the Planters' Association that there is no need for an enquiry by Mr. Gandhi, and served a notice on him under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code shows that they fear the revelation of some unpleasant things.

If Mr. Gandhi gives up the work he has undertaken and go to Ahmedabad, it will be a stain on the country and a still greater stain on the Government. The officers have, perhaps, forgotten that they have the

Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor above them. The Champaron district is not an estate belonging to these officers. They administer the district in the name of the British Government. Of late, many things of which womankind should be ashamed have come to light as a result of the agitation against indentured labour. Mr. Andrews read in many a meeting a horrible account of what he himself saw and moved the people to great indignation. The country became full of unrest. His Excellency the Viceroy has with unparalleled courage put an end to that slave trade with one stroke of his pen. All were pleased. Gratefulness was shown to His Excellency. The report which Mr. Gandhi is going to write about the situation in North Behar can never be more horrible than Mr. Andrews' report. It cannot be said that Mr. Gandhi's report will cause the harm that Mr. Andrews' report was not able to cause. The evil acts of planters in Behar will come to light as in the Fiji Islands. His Excellency the Viceroy himself will thereupon do justice. We cannot believe that Lord Chelmsford, who successfully compelled the Secretary of State, the Colonial Secretary and the Fiji planters to put a stop to indentured labour, will fail to put an end to the mischieveous acts of his subordinates. We trust he will, without delay, do good to the country. As this issue was being made ready for the press, the glad news was received that the notice served on Mr. Gandhi was cancelled, for which we are grateful to His Excellency the Viceroy and Sir Edward Gait.

67. Referring, with regret, to the security of Rs.1,000/- said to have been demanded by the Government from the Telugu paper known as the Desamata published at Rajahmundry, the Prapanchamitran, of the 20th April, observes:- It does not transpire what crime has been committed by that paper. While the authorities of Government have to observe moderation and show love for the people in a great measure in this time of stress, it is not becoming the policy of the British rule to demand large sums as security from papers which are speaking out boldly.

The Press Act in the Andhra country.

72. In the course of a long article on this subject, the Prapanchamitran, of the 13th April, contrasts the readiness of the people of other provinces to serve the public, making any sacrifice therefor, with the comparative lethargy of the people of this Presidency, as far as disinterested public service is concerned, and observes:- The secret of the glory of the west lies in the system obtaining there of popular leaders grouping themselves into associations and striving in the matter of securing the rights of the people and improving their condition from time to time, with a mutual confidence and undaunted patriotism. That our ancestors possessed these qualities in an eminent degree is admitted even by the Europeans. Public life has been shattered in our country on account of the confusion that prevailed in the interim. But the cycle of time has made its round, and the moment has come for the Indians

Public life in the Madras Presidency.

to find their place again among the civilised powers. During the last few years, we see a spirit of awakening throughout the country and the spread of a wave of patriotism. As a result of this, public life may also be said to be developing. This has gained strength in the Punjab, Bengal, Bombay and other Provinces, and has secured the esteem and regard of the English Government largely. It is only the Madras Presidency that has acquired the name of a "Benighted Province", and it is here that public life commands no respect. This is regrettable. Two reasons may be assigned for this. One is that the people of Northern India have had a training in public life on account of the frequent opportunities they had of co-operating to secure their freedom. The second is that the popular leaders in the north as well as the ordinary people act on the one principle that striving for the good of the public and the Government is more important than securing one's own greatness by seeking for titles from the Government. Our opinion is that public life in this Presidency is an empty one. Our so-called leaders have not sincere patriotism. They attack the Government whenever there is an opportunity, making a show of working for the cause of the country. But their object is only to secure high appointments such as High Court Judgeship or Council Membership. The Government too, are afraid of the criticism of these people and ~~disp~~ diplomatically confer such appointments on them. Of late, even the Government have found out the secret of these people. If those who call themselves popular representatives act like this without caring for self-respect and dignity, how can the Government have any regard for us? This is a great defect in our Presidency. We hope this defect will disappear soon and our people will advance rapidly.

74. Referring to the Planters' Association in Ceylon which was formed for the purpose of putting a stop to the system of planters advancing money to and drawing coolies from one another's plantations, mentioning how that object not having been realised by the members of that itself recently, having regard to the attempt made by the members of that association to move a resolution in the Ceylon Legislative Council for the prohibition of the system of advancing money to the coolies, and pointing out how the planters, at the dissolution of the association, stated that recently when money could not be advanced to coolies on account of the present economic pressure, they worked in peace, the Swadesamitran, of the 20th April, observes:- It has been told by a planter himself during the inquiry held by Messrs. Marjoribanks and Ahmad Thambi Marakkayar that the moneys advanced by planters do not profit the coolies, but go to the pockets of the kanganies. As this arrangement, therefore, which profits neither the planters who are the capitalists, nor the coolies who labour hard, but some middle men, it is necessary indeed that a law should be made for removing it. But the planters have vied with one another in advancing money as loans and gathered men, only because it paid them adequately. As by the stopping of the system of advancing money, a saving will be made, it is the duty of the Government to make the planters devote at least a part of such saving to improve the condition of the coolies and pay them higher wages.

Common understanding among the planters.

75. Referring to a case of burglary in a village in the Rajashahi district of the

Burglary and the Arms Act.

Bengal Presidency, the Swadesamitran, of the 21st April, says:- If the people in the houses concerned had had arms in their possession, they could have opposed the burglars and managed out of the danger, but it is not easy for people to obtain license for keeping arms. The authorities feared that burglars would rob the people of arms, if license was granted to them, and so gave pistols to two watchmen alone. If all the people had arms, such a burglary would not have taken place. We do not know what explanation the Government can give to the people who, deprived of arms, have to fall a prey to the armed burglars and lose their property. Though it is being constantly urged that the evils in the exercise of the Arms Act should be removed, it is not known whether the day of redemption will soon come to the people in this respect.

76. The Swadesamitran, of the 21st April, has the following:- We learn that at the Law

The use of objectionable words.

Examination of the Punjab University, one of the questions given for the candidates referred to the names of Rama, Krishna and Sita in such a way as to cause offence to the Hindus and be objectionable to them. Again, the paper known as the New Era refers to an Arabic passage given for translation at the Arts examination of the Allahabad University, in which was a sentence to the effect that

Muhammad was uneducated. Will not that would the religious sentiments of the Muhammadans? Apart from these, it appears that when Lord Ronaldshay spoke in a meeting held in connection with the war loan, he said, "The Germans have formed their army as if it were a huge lifeless machine like the fearful car of Jagannath, as the result of forethought and in accordance with calculations made. It was intended to lead their god of evil in a procession so as to run on the corpses of those races who lay down unwilling to be subjected to the suzerainty of the Germans." We believe, indeed, that if he had known that the comparison would offend the religious sentiments of the people, he would not have brought it in. It will be appropriate, however, for us to emphasise here that in question papers set for public examinations, and on public platforms, it would be desirable to weigh words and expressions before they are used.

The split between Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

78. The Lokopakari, of the 23rd April, writes:- There is a rumour that there is now a split between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans in this Presidency. This is a false rumour. Some non-Brahmans of Madras, with a view to vent their ill-feeling against some Brahmans, post to be the representatives of the non-Brahman community and vilify the Brahmans on the platform and in the press. It is well known that this movement has not received the support of the non-Brahmans. Moreover, these are making mighty efforts to mar the union between Brahmans and non-Brahmans. The Government will pay attention to our grievances and move

in the matter of redressing them, only if the Hindus, who are divided enough by caste, religion and language, unite in the interests of the country. If we quarrel among ourselves, without having union among us, the Government will not attend to our wants and will neglect us. We are ourselves responsible for our rise or fall. So we should stand together, without caring for the petty differences among us and work hard for advancing our country.

Indian Emigration Conference.

94. The Andhrapatrika, of the 21st April, says:- The only Indian on the committee ~~that-is-to-meet-in~~ constituted to enquire into affairs connected with the emigration of labourers from India is Sir S.P. Sinha. This is not a satisfactory state of things when the matter relates wholly to the Indians. As suggested by New India, it is just and necessary that the Government should include Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Polak who have devoted their whole lives to the question. Sir. S.P. Sinha is not so very acquainted with the matter and has no personal experience therein. The others are foreigners. It is stated that Mr. Marjoribanks was appointed as an expert member because he once enquired into the question of emigration. It is these experts that sometimes prove dangerous. The whole country had to be convulsed with agitation to get rid off the halter placed around its neck by Mr. M. Chimmenlal's report. We wish that the expertness of Mr. Marjoribanks will not lead to such a result.

The London Emigration Conference.

Announcing that in this conference which is to meet at London in May next, one of the Under Secretaries of State for India and an India Office official will represent India, and those that will attend it from India as representatives are Sir James Meston, Sir S.P. Sinha, Lieutenant Colonel W.M. Kennedy and Mr. Marjoribanks, the Swadesamitran, of the 20th April, observes:- It should be noted that of those mentioned above, only one is an Indian. He is besides the only non-official gentleman. Again it is a great surprise to us to hear that Messrs. Kennedy and Marjoribanks are well versed in the condition of the recruitment of coolies here. How can we say that Mr. Marjoribanks is an expert on the subject seeing the report written by him after his enquiries into the condition of the coolies in Ceylon, Malay and other places? Not one of the Indian papers expressed satisfaction at that report. Seeing that under such circumstances he is said to be an expert on this subject, the doubt arises in us as to whether the Government have well understood the feelings and views of the Indians.

Writing on the same subject, and very much in the same strain, the Hindu Nesan, of the 20th April, observes in addition that it was wrong in the first instance to have deputed Mr. Marjoribanks to Ceylon, Malay States, etc., on the commission of inquiry, that it is still more wrong to send him to London as a representative of India, that

there is no use in a civilian being chosen as a representative, or in those who are in England themselves being chosen, and that one or two Indians versed well in the questions should necessarily be sent.

The Andhraprakasika, of the 21st April, writes under this heading as follows:- A conference to consider the question of Indian emigration is to meet in London in May. Mr. Marjoribanks is one of those that are going to take part in the conference. Mr. Marjoribanks went to Colombo along with Mr. Marakayar to enquire into the emigration question and submitted a dissenting report. We beg to submit that it is not at all just to allow such a person to take part in the conference.

The Indian Emigration Conference.

Referring to the Indian Emigration Conference the Keralodayam, of the 24th April, says:- Indians will not admit that all the members selected to represent India at the conference are such as are qualified to represent her, but who cares to ask for their consent?

Indian Emigration Conference.

95. While enumerating the various movements militating against caste, such as the Lingayet, the Vallabha and the Saiva movements, a correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 21st April, writes:- The Christians are a step higher than the last class among Hindus. The members of this class are treated with greater respect when they embrace Christianity. But the higher classes among us look upon those who embrace Christianity only as occupying a step higher than the last class. But

Christianity.

all the Brahmins who do not embrace Christianity, eat with one another, and there is no objection to their intermarrying. The very rich among them eat with the very poor, but a poor Brahmin will never take even drinking water from the hands of the Governor-General.

98. The Andhrapatrika, of the 23rd April, says:- Mr. Curtis has published a book in which he vindicates his conduct. . . . . .He says that the Indians should possess all the powers that the Government of India, the Secretary of State, the British Parliament and the people who elect the members of the Parliament now wield. But Mr. Curtis has not written when such a thing will come to pass. Lord Hardinge and Lord Chelmsford also said that India should have self-government, but they said that great political changes bring great calamities in their train. It appears that Mr. Curtis also shares in this opinion. It is his opinion that if the Indians are fit for swaraj, they will get it. This is as curious as to say that a man will be allowed to swim in water after he learns to swim in the air. . . . . .Only after India gets self-government, she can take her rightful place in the Imperial Conference. Without granting self-government, there is no use saying, "We will give four seats to your men in the Imperial Conference. Rest satisfied." The time has gone when the Indians were deceived by baits. India can command honour andrespect outside only when she is the mistress in her own house. There cannot be

Mr. Curtis.

dependence inside and equality outside. We are grateful to Mr. Curtis for stating that he would change his opinions if necessary and for trying to solve the Indian question with fair-mindedness and sympathy.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 24th April, says:-

Mr. Curtis.

Mr. Curtis says in his work that there should be an imperial parliament to decide questions affecting the whole of India, that it should contain representatives from Britain, Canada, Australia New Zealand, South Africa and India, and that this parliament should be divided into two assemblies, the one containing representatives elected by the different countries, and the other containing Lords, the representatives of the Indian Maharajas and of the Muhammadans. It is his opinion that without such an imperial parliament, the British Empire will go to pieces. We admit that ehe reasons on which he bases his opinion are strong, and that the question of the defence of the empire is the foremost of the post-war questions. According to the calculations of Mr. Curtis, three hundred crores more are required for the defence of the empire. Let us suppose that India's share is 50 crores. The present revenue of the State being found insufficient to meet the expenses of the country, the authorities had to go the length of increasing the duty on the salt of the poor. Where can such a poor country get fifty crores of rupees? We cannot boldly say that the people of Manchester and the other English people will allow the development of industries in India. . . . . . .

We have spent 150 years with the British parliament and the British people. Mutual love has been established between us. We ~~sith~~ wish to attain our salvation through them. Under an imperial parliament in which persons belonging to different nationalities, who have no sympathy and experience of our country, meet, our country may become more miserable than under the British Parliament. After India attains self-government, the question of including her representatives in the imperial parliament may be considered.

India and the Imperial Conference.

99. The Andhrapatrika, of the 23rd April, says:- We express our feelings of gratitude to Mr. Chamberlain, His Excellency the Viceroy and the Government in England for securing to India full representation at all future Imperial Conferences, and to the Colonial Ministers who granted it. This is an indication that the angle of vision of the rulers rendered in the war and the conduct of India have gained this boon. Had it not been for the war, India would not have been admitted into the Imperial Conference. We hope that the British Government will maintain their liberal traditions by giving self-government to the Indians as suggested by Mr. Curtis, just as they are giving them a prominent place in the Imperial Conference.

107. The Andhrapatrika, of the 24th April, reproduces in its columns the above leader of the Desamata of the 18th April.

The Desamata and security.

In its leader under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 24th April, writes:- It would appear from the Desamata of the 18th April that no warnings had

been given of any objectionable writings to the proprietor. . . . . .If the portions of the articles which had been considered objectionable were pointed out, it would be possible to guard against a recurrence of the error. Those that read the articles cannot say that they are objectionable from start to finish. Punishing a paper, without pointing out the objectionable portions, places the proprietor at a disadvantage in the matter of defending himself in a Court of Law. The authority, that punishes as well as charges, being the Government loudly proclaims the extreme helpless condition of the vernacular papers. Moreover, in the process of translation, a stronger word may be used for a milder one by Government officials, which may give a wrong meaning and an undue prominence to an unobjectionable Telugu article, translated into English. The rulers, therefore, that see no danger in comments, however strong in English, see some objectionable features in insipid and harmless vernacular writings, by virtue of their translations, and put into force this terrible Press Act. We believe that the Government would show greater leniency to vernacular papers if they, before demanding security, should also take into their consideration the fact that errors might creep in in the process of translation. In the suppression of vernacular papers at present various authorities have thus each a hand. It is another improper thing that when a paper commits an offence, the innocent press, in which it is published, is punished. It may, perhaps, be said that the law allows it. The Press Act has no reason nor rhyme and sanctions anything. Ah! The editors are shaking in fear of the evil that may at any moment befall them on account of this terrible Act. The difficulty of newspapers

in struggling with it is daily growing. Papers that have been long continued with loyalty and devotion are coming to grief on the ground that an article or two are not properly written. The omission to give a previous warning is in a way prejudicial to the Government themselves. It drives the moderates also into the camp of the extremists. The Government have to think whether it is good policy to make much of things that can be easily settled by a single warning without attracting the notice of the world. Once more do we ask whether it is good policy to try to stop for one or two faults or on account of the misapprehension of the Government, loyal papers which have been for years together, giving a just expression to public opinion, conferring praise, blame or counsel, in an appropriate manner. To imagine a spectre in a matter that can at the outset be amicably settled, and to hurl down the thunder-bolt from the heights of Ootacamund does not appear proper to us. The harsh powers conferred by this Act are, we are afraid, the reason for this mistake. The fact that, in the face of the difficulties created by this good law, the proprietors of the press could renew their declaration four times without being called upon to deposit any security, proves what an unsullied character had been maintained by the editor of the Desamata till February last. When such has been the fate of the Desamata, which . . . . it means that the Government are taking up all sorts of papers together and branding them with the same mark. It amounts to saying, "Your loyalty and moderation cannot save you. You had better all write

against us always." It is regrettable that our statesmen do not point out any other course for the newspapers. The Desamata cries, "Seven years of the previous life of Desamata. . . . . We could not escape coming under the Press Act." . . . . These words of our brother give vent to his grief and not his anger. We request that the Government of Lord Pentland will even now retract the severe penalty they have imposed on this well-conducted paper, and believe that Mr. C. Lakshminarasimham Pantulu will approach them with a preyer for cancelling the order. If either of the above is not prepared to accept this proposal, the duty of the Andhras then is clear. Mr. Lakshminarasimham is not only an editor, but also a mine of wealth to the Andhras on whom permanent infamy will settle if they cannot raise the thousand rupees by subscription and pay it down.

115. The Kerala Patrika, of the 21st April, also thinks that the appointment of Mr. Badri Maharaj as a Member of the Fiji Legislative Council is a good thing for Indian coolies there and others.

Indian Member of the Fiji Legislative Council.

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FOR THE WEEK ENDING 5th MAY 1917,

ENGLISH PAPERS OWNED BY INDIANS.

No. 18 of 1917.

II. Home Administration.

(k) General

7. The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 25th April, states:-

Mr. M.K. Gandhi and the Behar planters.

It is something of a mystery to us why the District Magistrate of Motihari should have prevented Mr. Gandhi from investigating into the labour conditions in the planting districts of Behar. Mr. Gandhi's mission is a peaceful one, and we should expect the officials to co-operate cheerfully with Mr. Gandhi in carrying on the investigation. An economic inquiry is least likely to lead to a breach of the peace and we wonder why anybody should be terrified at the prospect. Whoever is responsible for the prohibition, it is a tactical mistake as it is sure to leave the impression on the public mind that the condition of labour in the planting districts are such that they will not bear the light of day."

United India and Native States, for the week ending 3rd May, remarks:- "All is well that ends well . It is

impossible not to condemn the hasty and ill-considered action of the Commissioner of the Tirhut Division in attempting to prevent Mr. Gandhi from carrying on his enquiry in regard to the relation between the coolies and the planters on the North Behar plantations. . . . . .The Indian public are pleased to learn that the unjustifiable proceedings have been dropped, and Mr. Gandhi has been permitted to conduct his humanitarian work."

12. The Indian Patriot, of the 30th April, remarks:-

The Indian cotton duties.

"Lord Chelmsford's assurance that the cotton duties showed India had influential friends in England, was not received in India with any degree of enthusiasm. Indians were rather concerned that the selfish spirit of Lancashire had not been chastened by the war, that it was ready to throw down the gun and vehemently protest against what it called betrayal of party truce. Nothing, in fact, was a source of more intense disappointment and almost despair than this demonstration of Lancashire tyranny over India. . . . . .We look to Lord Curzon and to Mr. Lloyd George to extend their sympathy to us beyond the one hundred million gift, lest India should feel that it had to purchase justice against Lancashire by a large gift."

13. Justice, of the 1st May, writes:- "At the luncheon given to the representatives

The Indian political problem.

of India and the dominions by the Empire Parliamentary Association, two striking speeches were made, one by Mr. Chamberlain and the other by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir. . . . . Perhaps the

atmosphere of the House of Commons where the function took place and the aims and objects of the Empire Parliamentary Association were such that the Secretary of State for India, who was the principal speaker, had no alternative but to allude directly to the Indian political problem. . . . . .In the course of his speech he observed that 'nowhere were we confronted by greater problems than in India, and it was for us to help to our full measure the realisation of India's natural aspirations to play a full part in the life of the empire' This was a general statement, the avowal of a sincere wish. What followed indicated the lines on which responsible British statesmen were prepared to labour for this blessed consummation. 'The realisation of this', said Mr. Chamberlain, 'could only come with time and, as Indians qualified themselves, we were bound to sympathise and lend a helping hand and strive to make India a fit training ground for the development of those aspirations and liberties.' But the qualification itself is not the result of chance. It is the product of the training given and of the experience acquired, and it thus becomes the duty of the British Government so to widen the basis of the Indian constitution as to give to the enlightened and self-respecting Indian an opportunity of proving the fitness of himself and of others like him for the exercise of the higher and more responsible functions of government. . . . . .It is clear from Mr. Chamberlain's remarks that, while he is in active sympathy with political projects consistent with the liberal spirit of the present, he would countenance no revolutionary propaganda, the effect of which would be to undo the work

already accomplished. Perhaps he will be taken to task for his caution by those Indian politicians who have for the time being cast to the winds both caution and commonsense.

"But it is significant that in all that he said on the subject he was supported by the Maharaja of Bikanir who, after a careful review of the political situation in India, remarked that 'no reasonable person would contend that India was at present ripe for full self-government, but many thought that there was room for further political reforms.' He did not stop here, but added 'that Indians needed patience and a sense of responsibility and, above all, concentration on what could be attained.' Concentration on what could be attained is a task foreign to the nature of a class of politicians in this country whose judgments have been upset apparently by the excitement caused by the war. . . . . .Of course, he will be roughly handled in this country for giving expression to this view and described as a 'puppet' who has failed to see through 'the temptings of his directors and masters.' But the Maharaja is not an irresponsible damagogue, or a turn-coat of any kind . He is a most respected and honoured Prince who enjoys alike the confidence of the people and the British Government. . . . . .The future, however, is bright. With statesmen like the Maharaja of Bikanir to guide their countrymen, the steady and continued development of the country is more than assured. He and his colleagues, Sir S.P. Sinha and Sir James Meston, have done much to raise the status of India in the eyes of the British democracy. Their conduct as members of the

War Conference and their speeches in various parts of Great Britain have created a profound impression in the public mind. They were not elected by any legally-constituted constituency, but were chosen by the Government of India in consultation with the Secretary of State for India, and yet none could have given fuller and more graceful expression to Indian feelings and Indian aspirations."

Writing under the heading "No obsequious disciple,"[2] Justice, of the 2nd May, says:- "It seems that the Maharaja of Bikanir committed one grace blunder: he has not tied himself to the apron strings of any loquacious political propagandist. As a ruler he would be the last person to do it; he has shrewdness and commonsense enough to see what is what. He is no bird of passage in this country. He has heavy stakes to lose if the wild forces, now under restraint, are let loose or have free play. He knows what inflammable materials there are that need only a spark to explode in every part of this vast continent. . . . . .Yes, patience is wanted in a small cacophonous minority while the vast majority are grateful to the Government for the benefits of their political evolution. They are loyal to the King-Emperor whose sympathy has touched their hearts. They put their trust in princes, in their Prince of Princes and are content to attain what is possible."

The Indian Patriot, of the 3rd May, observes:- "We are surprised at the suddenness with which some critics change their opinions and thus betray their impatience for

any particular cause to which they are wedded. When His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir spoke of the fitness of India for self-government and of the ardent desire of the educated section of the population for larger participation in the work of administration, he was hailed as the real representative of this country . . . . But when directly speaking on the future of India, he would not countenance self-government to-day and expressed himself more as a moderate politician His Highness is abused. 'Put no faith in Princes,' is what one newspaper writes, and the comments of the newspaper which stands for self-government today are conceived in a similar strain. We think that one in the position of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir might have been treated with greater consideration without the cause of immediate self-government least suffering. There are two schools of thought in our midst, and surely it ought to be possible for both to carry on their work for the progress of the country without the argument of abuse. That a ruling prince in the position of His Highness should have expressed himself, when the occasion demanded it, so freely and openly is, we think, a source of intense gratification to every public worker in India. That has shown how sympathetically and intelligently the Indian princes are following the trend of thought outside their borders and how, as Indians they feel the same pride for our advancement as Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak or any one else. . . . . .We insist that His Highness was giving expression to the opinion of a very large section of the population when he expressly said that India did not want self-government to-day. . . . .

We do not quarrel with those who say that we are fit for self-government to-day and that we must have it, and there is no reason why those who say so should not be very earnest and be actuated by the highest motive for the progress of the country. . . . . .Let the attitude of responsible British statesmen be such that they do not dishearten this moderate school. They speak out that they do not want self-government to-day but only day after to-morrow, because they hope that with the goal fixed and a programme of work laid down, they can easily make themselves perfect under British supervision and control. . . . . .We can to-day run the Government of the country on the same lines as the Civilians with the help of British statesmen as now. If instead of Sir Alexander Cardew and Mr. Gillman--to speak of Madras Presidency,--we had Diwan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao and Khan Bahadur Aziz-ud-din Sahib in the Executive Council, there would not be a sudden break down in the machinery. His Excellency Lord Pentland, with his three Indian colleagues, would be perfectly able to run the administration on smooth lines. An Indian President of a Taluk Board has not failed any more than a European President. . . . . By large and more responsible participation in the work of Government we hope to change the angle of vision of the authorities, to make them run the administration of India on national lines and by and by, take up the work for ourselves. It would be a serious mistake to put down those who do not want self-government to-day as, not wanting it until the earliest convenience of the bureaucrats. It would be equally a mistake to look upon those who demand for self-government to-day as wanting it to advance themselves

or their castemen. But by persistent indifference and cold neglect the Government can very effectively drive the moderate politician into the camp of the extremist politicians. We must, in all seriousness, sound the warning that the dividing border between the moderate and the extremist is rapidly thinning."

17. The Indian war loan. In a leader under the heading "the Prince of Ignorance," the Indian Patriot, of the 2nd May, says:- "At no time did the educated people of India who yearn for the progress of the country feel more than now the ignorance and illiteracy in the land. No one can hear the wild, senseless talk about the war loans without deep sorrow. Money is asked for because the Sircar has no money; and its officers are doing an ill-service to the Government by cryling aloud for money; the posters on the walls, the advertisements in the newspapers are all pointed to as proofs of the dangerous plight of the Government. . . . .
Where is the Englishman who will not be ashamed of those in whose hands he left the work of the Government of India when he hears the poor, the illiterate--and they form the majority--talk of the war loan being due to the bankruptcy of the Government?. . . . .
We see around us millions crawling in semi-barbarism, who look up in ignorance of the terrible significance of the times they live in. Will the Government now, and without a moment's delay, take up the work of improving the condition of the millions of India? That is the question of the hour. The answer to that question must contain

the announcement that the educated people of India will have larger participation in the Government--an effective voice which will say and see to it, when the time comes, that a crore of rupees shall not be spent upon building a new General Hospital on the Spur Tank, but that the sum shall be devoted to encouraging and extending the indigenous systems of medicine. . . . . .We are ashamed of our illiteracy and our general backwardness. We are resolved that these shall be things of the past. And because the official had all those years and has yet failed to touch the entire masses. Our educated people are anxious to be in their own country what the educated people in other advanced countries are. We insist that the Maharaja of Bikanir gave expression to the feelings of the moderate section of the people of India when he insisted on an enlargement of popular control of Government. And when such appeals come, and not from what are called professional politicians who are not liked by the official, but from a prince, chosen to represent the Indian princes, not given to talking, it would be absolutely unstatesmanlike to ignore them."

19. Justice, of the 3rd May, remarks:- "Sir S.P. Sinha has just made a wise and weighty speech before the East India section of the London Chamber of Commerce. . . . . .He said that 'India wanted more autonomous power in regard to finance, and more equitable adjustment of the burden devolving on India.' Each part of the empire, said he, must contribute, according to its resources and power, to the defence of the empire. Sir Satyendra spoke with a due

India and the empire.

sense of his responsibility and with a full knowledge of what took place at the sittings of the Imperial War Conference. That Conference was convened to devise measures for a more vigorous prosecution of the war. It is not, however, unlikely that the subjects mentioned by Sir S.P. Sinha were also discussed, for they were connected with the war. If so, we can well imagine that he and his colleagues pressed this particular point of view on the attention of the other members of the conference. He, in fact, claims for his country fiscal autonomy. . . . . Nor was he less emphatic in regard to the question of the apportionment of Imperial burdens. Till the outbreak of the war, the dominions made no contribution proportionate to their importance and status to Imperial defence. Under the protection of Great Britain, her army and her navy, they were developing their own resources, in their own way, without anyexternal interference or control. With regard to India, on the other hand, her policy was strictly under the control of the Secretary of State and the Imperial Parliament. One need only go through some of the recent speeches made in England and India by those responsibl for the affairs of India to understand the nature of her Imperial burdens and how readily and ungrudgingly she was giving of her best for the empire. Sir Satyendra Sinha now tells the British and Dominion statesmen that every part of the empire should contribute to the defence of the empire in proportion to its resources. He appeals, in other words, for justice in this matter.

"Perhaps the most important part of his speech was where he referred to the expansion of the industries and commerce of India. He emphasised, so runs Reuter's cable, that the resources of India must not be exploited by other parts of the empire for their own benefit. The first aim must be the welfare of India herself and this would be most advantageous to the empire itself. But the eminent Indian patriot who gave utterance to these sentiments in the presence of the Secretary of State for India and of the leading men of commerce and industry in London, is charged along with his two colleagues who have been deputed to England to represent India on the Imperial War Conference, with having betrayed the interests of this country. Sir Satyendra Sinha is a responsible and respected Indian leader and not an irresponsible demagogue, and yet he, the Maharaja of Bikanir and Sir James Meston are the subject of a vile attack in a local paper (New India) which says:- 'The trio of Government delegates, in concert with the Secretary of State for India, have voted away all hope of India's industrial regeneration, and have consigned her to the place of a mere labourer in the cotton-fields of the empire. Under these menacing conditions of ruin what shall India do'? Who could have put India's case more clearly, firmly and unambiguously than the distinguished Bengalee whose words we have quoted? Which Indian swarajist could have more resolutely upheld his country's claims?"

Indian emigration policy.

21. The Hindu, of the 4th May states:- "The inter-departmental conference on emigration which is

proposed to be held in the course of this month in London has to consider very difficult, delicate and intricate questions, and it is a thousand pities that the request made by public meetings and popular organisations in India that representative Indians and others who have sufficient experience of the question should be sent to represent India has not been acceded to. . . . . More acquaintance with official regulations and the prevailing practice is insufficient equipment for the correct understanding of the questions arising for solution. A sympathetic imagination, close study of the problems on the spot and actual experience of the conditions of labour are essential in those who take up the matter for solution. Now that the representation of India in the manner in which Indian public opinion has asked for it, has been denied, the least that can be done is to publish the recommendations of the conference in India for criticism. Any decision taken by the Secretary of State and the Government of India behind the back of the people will be a fruitful source of legitimate discontent which it is not the part of wisdom to give rise to."

Political reforms in Native States.

22. In commenting on the speech delivered by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, at the luncheon given by the Empire Parliamentary Association, Justice, of the 1st May, says:- "The Maharaja of Bikanir says that in several Indian States there is representative government.

According to the orthodox Home Ruler or Swarajist every Native State Government is a Home Rule Government, for what he means by Home Rule is rule by the Indian whatever may be the character of that rule. But that sort of Home Rule is different from representative government, and so far as we are aware in no Indian State is there representative government of the accepted kind. In some States what are called Popular Assemblies have been established, and in a few there are also Legislative Councils. But we do not know whether the constitutions, powers and functions of these Assemblies and Councils are wide enough to permit of our describing them as representative institutions."

Vernacular Papers.

II. Home Administration.

(d) Education.

Mr. Wood, Roorki College.

35. The Andhrapatrika, of the 26th April, makes a short protest against the sentiments contained in the address delivered by Mr. Wood, Principal, Roorki Engineering College, to Indian students. It remarks:-
Perhaps because he was brought up in the sacred atmosphere of his home in his boyhood, he gave expression to such gentlemanly views.

Separate representation.

48. The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 25th April, writes:-
We frequently wrote in these columns on the subject of separate representation when the Reform Scheme of Lord Morley and Lord Minto were under discussion in 1906.

We sobved the problem by stating that the principle of election was so important from the standpoint of separate representation that it could not be ignored. It is well known that, when the great Mussalman deputation waited on Lord Minto, attention was first drawn to this point that the Government should show Muhammadans consideration according to their political and historical claims and his Lordship admitted that their demand was a proper one and that they could not be dealt with on the numerical principle. Eventually Lord Morley passed the Council Reform Bill on these self-same lines. The result is Muhammadans now elect and return their own candidates to Legislative Councils.

Previous to this Hindus and Muhammadans jointly chose a Hindu or Muhammadan candidate and voted for him. The majority being Hindus the candidate was frequently, in fact generally, a Hindu. Even if Mussalmans had wished they could not have chosen a Muhammadan. The result was that most of the questions, specially connected with religion or nationality, could not be dealt with by Hindu members.

The only remedy was separate representation and now we and the whole world see how excellently this plan works.

The one desire and need of Muhammadans is that they may be given the right of separate election in municipalities also in order that they may elect members of their own community. Mussalmans have been making

representations to this effect for several years past, but they have been unheeded besides the time had not come for the election of Muhammadan Commissioners in accordance with Mussalman aspirations and aims. Thank God! however, this system was begun in the United Provinces and Oudh last year and through the efforts of the Hon'ble Raja Sahib of Jehangirabad an amendment was made in the Municipal Act whereby Muhammadans obtained the right of separate election. The generality of thoughtful and fair-minded Hindu members supported the prpoosition, although a few Hindus strongly opposed it and gave abundant proof of their disapproval. The Viceroy, however, supported it and the Act is now in force in the United Provinces. For this act of kindness on the part of the Imperial Government the whole Muhammadan community is placed under an obligation to the powers that be, and it is confident that the Government is rendering all possible legitimate aid to Muhammadans to help them out of difficulties which operate unfairly. It is our duty to safeguard our interests and invite the attention of the Government to these matters in order that it may furnish us with the means essential to our national advancement.

A similar resolution was moved by the Hon'ble Yakub Hasan at the corporation meeting held on Saturday last that Muhammadans may be given the unrestricted right of electing at least four commissioners.

It is a matter for regret to find that the Hindus strenuously opposed it and that Hakim Muhammad Usman Sahib, B.A., also supported them, and observed that there was no necessity for a separate electorate. For example, he said, he himself had been elected by Hindus from which it might be inferred that there was no occasion to be afraid of the Hindus.

We wonder why our Hindu friends tried to bring about the rejection of a legitimate request of Mussalmans and why they shut the door of these benefits. Muhammadans are with the Hindus in all political matters; and they are ready to support their every reasonable proposal even should they be granted a separate election.

Their objection is India's advancement, but it is evident that so long as the different communities do not establish their status, they cannot do anything beneficial for the country. We do not understand what harm can be done either to the Hindus or to their principle if a special electorate be given to Muhammadans. The example of the Councils is before us and they see that they are being helped and benefited in every way by Muhammadan members. We fail to understand the logic of the argument that this procedure is legal for the councils, but illegal for the municipalities.

Mussalmans do not desire any kind of separation nor have they the idea of establishing a colony for themselves distinct from the Hindus.

They are simply looking for the means essential to their national existence and wish to take a legitimate share in the service of the country. Unemployment and inexperience have made the Mussalman community a useless member of society, and it is being effaced altogether by the numerical and educational superiority of the Hindus. Hence they are seeking an opportunity to strengthen their national existence and to support the members of the community in their legitimate aims.

We believe that our benign Government will consider this motion and adopt remedial measures. The desire of Muhammadans is that they should serve the Government and the country through separate representation and just as they are doing useful work in the councils they may likewise prove of service on municipalities. It is unjust and improper to deprive the Muhammadans of this right; and we hope that our benign Government will be good enough to turn its attention to this resolution and grant the Mussalmans their request.

61. With an extract in English from the Indian Social Reformer on this subject, the Viveka Chintamani of April 1917, writes a leader on it to the following effect:- The Government of the United Provinces have requested the Members of their Legislative Council and the public to make known their views on the report before the 15th May next. We believe it will be well if the Governments of the other Provinces also similarly obtained the views of the representatives. All complain that the report is highly unsatisfactory. Till now the

The Public Services Commission Report.

Indians regarded with pleasure the royal proclamation of Queen-Victoria as their Magna Charta. Now this Commission has divided the services in India into three classes. In the first of these, which includes the Indian Civil Service and the Police, the Commission has recommended as a new doctrine that for the sake of the good governance of India, the larger number of men appointed should be Europeans. If it is approved by the Government, it will reverse the Queen's promises and the provisions of Acts of Parliament. It is the opinion of all that then the people who sought for increased rights will lose even what they have. It is the public opinion, too, that no room should be given to such a new doctrine. All the Indian leaders urge that if the people remain quiet now, they will be giving awa y all the rights of their children to come, and that they should not, therefore, consent to the doctrine at all. To give room in the matter of basic doctrines will always end in disaster. It is a wonder of wonders that this Royal Commission should, in drawing the report, have rooted out the basic principles on which the British rule should be established in India. It is not the habit of this journal to meddle with politics. But we also are bound to point out the defects in this, as it is connected with and opposed to the principles of Government.

63. Referring to the letter written by the Commissioner to the Collector of the Champaran district to issue an order to Mr. Gandhi to leave it forthwith, and the order issued in pursuance of it by the Collector the Swadesamitran, of the 25th April, writes:- Our friends

The Gandhi incident.

will not only be excited to uncontrollable laughter and disgust by a perusal of the letter, but the ignorance of the Commissioner will also be betrayed by it. It is wonderful indeed that he should have stated that, instead of wishing to ascertain the existing facts, it might be the object of Mr. Gandhi to create excitement. Besides, what shall we say when he states that loss of life also may happen! Is it in endeavours leading to loss of life that Mr. Gandhi will launch out? Apparently, the Commissioner is not aware how Mr. Gandhi conducted himself even putting up with the untold cruelties that took place in South Africa! As the Collector issued the order only in compliance with the wishes of the Commissioner, there is no room for making any great complaint against the Collector. But every one will observe the statement made in the order to the effect that Mr. Gandhi "should go away by the next train." By reading the reply written by Mr. Gandhi to it and the deposition made by him, one can understand very clearly his self-respect, manly disposition and duty to the public. It was wise of the Government to have discerned that the Commissioner himself, who believed that excitement would be caused by Mr. Gandhi occasioned cause for it, and have the case withdrawn. But this Commissioner is an example of how sometimes the authorities, who seek to guard the public peace, themselves do acts calculated to break it.

64. The Pandiya Nesan, of the 21st April, publishes the substance of an article under this head from the Hindu Nesan of Madras of the 19th idem abstracted

Mr. Gandhi and a District Magistrate.

in paragraph 65 of Report No. 17 of 1917.

Mr. Gandhi.

Referring to the affair relating to Mr. Gandhi and the Champaran Magistrate, the Kistnapatrika, of the 28th April, writes under this heading:- We are gratified at the wisdom of the Government of Behar in this matter. . . . . Mr. Gandhi has now been permitted to enquire personally about the condition of the coolies in the indigo plantations. The country is awaiting the result.

Case against a planter.

65. Referring to a case brought by a kangani belonging to a plantation in Ceylon against the head of the plantation for wrongful restraint and using criminal force and the fine of Rs.10 to which the accused was sentenced by the Magistrate, the Swadesamitran, of the 25th April, observes:- It must be noted whether criminal force would not have been used in the planter sending two men and making them bring the kangani. Besides, how about a man being ordered to go crawling on all fours? Is it desirable to treat men like brutes instead of treating them as human beings? Our friends should think of this themselves.

An absurd statement by the Principal of a college.

74. The Swadesamitran, of the 26th April, refers with regret to the statement said to have been made by Mr. Woods, the Principal of the Engineering College at Roorki, that the majority of the Indians who call themselves gentlemen are not in reality gentlemen, and that this was due to the fact that, on account of the scheming nature of Indian families,

the Indian student does not develop the essential characteristics of a gentleman, and impresses on the authorities the desirability of dispensing with the services of this Principal forthwith, as he does not seem to have the calmness of judgment, which is necessary for the Principal of a college, and as he has greatly provoked the Indians by this absurd statement of his.

Lord Che,sford and swaraj for India.

76. Referring to a statement said to have been made by Lord Chelmsford at Lahore that the time had not yet come for the Indians to have swaraj, the Vijaya-vikatan, of the 28th April, says:- Many a Governor-General have been repeating this maxim and no one has had the capacity to grant swaraj to the Indians and see if they manage things properly. It is because such weak persons have been coming out as Governors-General of India that the Indians have grown impatient in this matter. What progress have the Indians attained during the 200 years that they have been subject to the English rule? If it is said that the Indians have not the capacity to govern themselves after having been under the highly-civilised Englishmen for so many years, on whom does the discredit reflect? It is really strange that Lord Chelmsford should have asked the Indians to be patient, when the fault of not having trained the Indians for having swaraj rests with English officials like him. Some Englishmen have completely spoiled the progress of the Indians by constantly repeating that the latter should be patient. It looks as if Lord Chelmsford's advice will spoil it further. They have prevented the valiant Indians from using arms. They have marred their education and nature by not giving them

compulsory primary education and higher education. It is on account of this that all countries treat India with contempt. Cannot the Indians compare favourably with the people in the Colonies in intelligence, knowledge and valour? If the Indians had been accustomed to the use of arms from a long time, will they allow the Germans to hold out so long? We hope Lord Chelmsford will calmly think over it.

Deputation of Congress representatives to England.

78. Referring to the discussion of Indian problems in England, and speaking of the present moment as being highly opportune for the Congress deputation to proceed to England and present the needs of India before the British public as formulated by the last Congress at Lucknow, the Vaisyamitran, of the 16th April, enumerates as follows the subjects which the Deputation will have to deal with:- The Deputation should urge that India should have independence in the determination of the taxes; it should consider the important question of the share of the expenses of the Imperial Army, which India should bear; matters relating to the army and the navy should all be determined in the Indian Legislative Councils by the representatives of the Indians; the place of India in the reconstitution of the empire should be determined; it is highly urgent and necessary that though Mr. Chamberlain has assured us that India will not be subjected to the misfortune of being ruled over by the colonies, all attempts, should be made to see that mischief-mongers do not make their influence felt in this matter in the higher circles of statesmen and that India occupies a place in the empire in no way inferior to that of the colonies; nd lastly the reforms urged for by the Indian leaders are necessary for the advancement of the country

and the prosperity of the people. These things are now being considered in England and Mr. Bonar Law has promised that a day will be set apart for the discussion of Indian questions in the Parliament. It is not desirable that the Deputation should wait till the close of the war. For then nothing will remain to be done. It may not be possible for the members of the Deputation to educate the British public on Indian questions through public lectures during this time of war. But they can do good by private conversation and contributions to journals.

82. With a lengthy discussion of the great and earnest endeavours made by the Prime Minister

India and the empire.

and the leading statesmen of the day in England, even in this time of war, to strengthen the union and solidarity of the empire and the favourable attitude with which Indian questions have begun to be viewed by them and the British public in general, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st May, observes:- It is only by making known our wishes now that we can have them granted. But the Governor of Bombay and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab think that all the Indian leaders should keep silent over political affairs. They unite with the official authorities and urge that the leaders should not talk about political matters, that political education should not now be developed in the people, and that the very atmosphere should not be contaminated by politics.While such is the case in India, how about the other countries? Mr. Lloyd George has stated that only by granting Ireland her wishes can victory be achieved. The members of the American Congress,

again, have wired to Mr. Lloyd George to settle the question of Ireland in its favour. People in the other Colonies are also urging the same upon him. All the people of the allied countries fully appreciate the change of the Russian Government from a monarchy to a republic, and have set their hearts upon the republican government being firmly established. Even the Secretary of State for India, who had mostly kept silent over matters Indian, has since recently not only come forward to urge her claims, but has stated that it is the duty of England to help India to realize her natural wishes. The words of the heads of Bombay and the Punjab and the authorities of Government on the one side and of men like the Prime Minister contradict one another. Of these the words of the Prime Minister are really more important. Will not, therefore, the heads of the aforesaid provinces change the views which they are putting into practice, after coming to know the utterances of the Prime Minister?

84. Referring to the speeches made by the Secretary of State for India and the Maharaja of Bikanir at an entertainment recently given to the representatives of India and the Colonies in England, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st May, writes:- The Secretary of State for India observed that India should make herself fitted for acquiring the full status of a partner in the empire, and then the status will be fully acquired by her. Apart from this, the Maharaja of Bikanir has stated that India has not yet sufficiently developed to be given entire self-government,

The reforms necessary for India.

but that there is room for introducing further administrative reforms. The whole of the Indians should be thankful to him for having understood, as far as possible, the objects of the Indians and spoken in support of the Indian cause on several occasions till now. But from the abovementioned statement made by him, it will not be too much to say that as he is the prince of a State, and not in a position to move freely with the Indians, he has had no occasion to understand the ideas, hopes and developments of the people in British India as the Indian leaders have understood them. From these utterances themselves of the Secretary of State and the Maharaja of Bikanir, it will be found highly necessary that Indian representatives chosen by the people here should go to England and make known to the British public the entire capacities and wishes of the Indians.

India and the Colonies.

88. Quoting Sir James Meston to have stated, on the occasion of a dinner given to the representatives of India in the Imperial Conference by the Imperial Press Association, London, that India and the Colonies have not understood their mutual grievances and hardships, and that, though this ignorance is now being dispelled gradually, a visit to India by the Colonial statesmen and editors will help to dispel it further, the Hindu Nesan, of the 27th April, says:- There is, no doubt, some truth in the suggestion made by Sir James Meston. But the Colonial statesmen will do well first to alter the present position, in which Indians are not free to set foot in the Colonies, and then undertake a tour to India.

89. Referring to the same statement of Mr. Wood, the Hindu Nesan, of the 27th April, observes:-

An absurd statement.

This statement gives room to the suspicion that, though Lord Curzon has left India, he has left behind him a disciple of his to speak ill of the Indians, whenever there was an opportunity. Mr. Wood is not fit either for the Principalship of the Rurki College, or for the post of Professor at all. Men of his stamp only create enmity between the Indians and the Englishmen, without strenghening their friendship.

95. With reference to the small pamphlets embodying the opinions of persons like President Roosevelt about British rule in India, which the Government are distributing in this country, the Andhrapatrika, of the 25th April, reports the Indian Social Reformer, Bombay, tohave said:- "Is the British rule soap or pills for the British Government to advertise about it? If the Government wan good opinions about the British rule in India, they have to obtain such opinions from the leaders of the people. What is the use of a certificate from President Roosevelt of America?". The paper hopes that the time may never come when the Government of India will have to look up to foreigners for testimonials.

Testimonials about British rule.

97. The Andhrapaakasika, of the 25th April, reproduces a portion of the leader from the Desamata of the 18th

Security.

April, already abstracted on page 1199 of the weekly report under the heading "Security". The same paper remarks:- Those who read the leader of the Desamata on the security proceedings against it will ~~read~~ certainly be moved with pity. We know by experience that the editor of the paper, who is a great poet, does not belong to the class of sedition-mongers. A mistake might have occurred without his knowledge. Had he been given a warning, he would have at once taken it. He is not obstinate like some others and will not disobey orders. He says he will not write in future in a manner that would be deemed objectionable by the authorities. We are sure he will not write in such a manner. We pray that the Government will take compassion and excuse the security.

108. The Andhrapatrika, of the 26th April, says:- The reply of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab regarding the order forbidding Mr. Tilak and Mr. Pal entering that Province is both unreasonable and insulting. There is a gulf of ~~the~~ difference between revolutionists on the one hand and those who wish to get self-government in a peaceful way within the British Empire on the other. As the bureaucracy places both these people under the same category and treats them alike, unrest prevails all over the country. Mr. Tilak and Mr. Pal stated that they never intended to go to the Punjab at all. As the Lieutenant-Governor had not stated

The order of the Punjab Government against Mr. Tilak and Mr. Pal.

the reasons of his suspicion that they might go to the Punjab, it is to be inferred that he has been misguided by some C.I.D. officer. His Honour said that the Government recognised that in a large section of the people there is a growing desire for self-government. We thank His Honour for such a recognition.

Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal.

109. The Kistnapatrika, of the 28th April, writes as follows under this heading:- Chitraguptas are factitious members in the Court of Yama (the God of Death). They record all acts of men in this world truly. This is but a myth. In these days the C.I.D. messengers have come into existence and they shadow people who send a thought after their motherland in any manner. Besides shadowing, they surmise things real and unreal and help to invent stories about patriots instead of writing their true history. If you question the truth of this, here is Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's case to the point. He arrived in Bombay on the 20th instant when the C.I.D. messengers appeared before him and took him to the Commissioner of Police, who warned him against delivering any lecture in Bombay on pain of arrest. Thereupon Mr. Pal thought it better to return home than stay in Bombay tongue-tied, and left for Calcutta that very day. Wherefore is this alarm on the part of the authorities!

Mr. Tilak's petition to the Governor of Bombay.

110. Referring to the petition of Mr. B.G. Tilak to the Governor of Bombay complaining against the conduct of certain Government servants in connection with his case against Sir Valentine Chirol, the Yogakshemam,

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